DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 185 414	CE 025 153
TITLE	Learning Opportunities for Adults. Volume III: The Non-Participation Issue.
INSTITUTION	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, Paris (France).
PUB DATE	79
NOTE	210p.: For related documents see ED 145 076 and ED 149 056.
AVAILABLE FROM	OECD Publications and Information Center, Suite 1207, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20006 ($12.50).
EDRS PRICE	MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	*Adult Education; Adult Programs; Attitude Change; Educational Attainment; *Educational Attitudes; Educational Planning; Enrollment Influences; Goal Orientation; Individual Needs; *Motivation; Motivation Techniques; Needs Assessment; *Nontraditional Education; *Participation; Recruitment; *Relevance (Education); Self Concept; Social Status; Socioeconomic Influences; Student Educational Objectives
IDENTIFIERS	Denmark; France; Italy; Netherlands; Spain; United Kingdom; United States

ABSTRACT

This collection of studies focuses on the problem of non-participation in adult education. The collection is the third of four volumes presenting general and national studies of issues, problems, and trends in adult education. (See Note for other volumes in the series.) The first study presented, Motivation and Participation with Special Reference to Non-Traditional Forms of Study, is a general analysis of the reasons for negative attitudes toward learning. It suggests that it might be possible to remove such attitudes by developing new types of learning situations. The next seven case studies explore the non-participation phenomenon in seven countries--Denmark, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Concluding the volume, two studies of attempts to appeal to particular groups are presented. Involving Industrial Workers in Post-Compulsory Education in Germany contains a global view of the problem of getting German industrial workers into adult education. A Case Study Based on an Urban Overspill Housing Estate is an evaluation of an educational program designed for people living on a housing estate in England. (YLB)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED185414

CE 025 153

Learning opportunities for adults

VOL. III

THE NON-PARTICIPATION ISSUE

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE ONLY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Eric N. Ekers

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

CE 025 153

ORGANISATION FOR ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION
AND DEVELOPMENT
PARIS 1979

JUN 2 1980

LEARNING OPPORTUNITIES FOR ADULTS :

IN THE SAME SERIES

GENERAL REPORT, Volume I (1977)
This volume consists of a systematic appraisal of the present scope and status of adult education in OECD Member countries, together with an analysis of the administrative, financial and other measures required in order to enlarge its base in society and to widen the range of public and private programmes.
(91 77 02 1) ISBN 92-64-11621-4, 84 pages US$4.50 £2.20 F18,00

NEW STRUCTURES, PROGRAMMES AND METHODS, Volume II (1978)
Consists of special studies commissioned to throw light on the following needs related to the national development of adult education: introduction of new institutional structures, programmes and delivery systems; stimulation of independent learning; co-ordination of adult education services; and provision of guidance and counselling services. One of these studies gives an insight into non-traditional forms of post-school education in Eastern European countries.
(91 79 02 1) ISBN 92-64-11905-1, 206 pages US$12.00 £5.90 F48,00

PARTICIPATION IN ADULT EDUCATION, Volume IV (1977)
This volume provides quantitative evidence about the magnitude and characteristics of participation in adult education in a number of OECD countries and opens up the field for further inquiry and research.
(91 77 08 1) ISBN 92-64-11710-5, 440 pages US$25.00 £12.00 F100,00

Publié en français sous le titre :
POSSIBILITÉS DE FORMATION POUR LES ADULTES
VOL. III
LE PROBLEME
DE LA NON-PARTICIPATION

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) was set up under a Convention signed in Paris on 14th December 1960, which provides that the OECD shall promote policies designed:

- to achieve the highest sustainable economic growth and employment and a rising standard of living in Member countries, while maintaining financial stability, and thus to contribute to the development of the world economy;
- to contribute to sound economic expansion in Member as well as non-member countries in the process of economic development;
- to contribute to the expansion of world trade on a multilateral, non-discriminatory basis in accordance with international obligations.

The Members of OECD are Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States.

THE OPINION EXPRESSED AND ARGUMENTS EMPLOYED
IN THIS PUBLICATION ARE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE AUTHORS AND
DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT THOSE OF THE OECD

* * *

© OECD, 1979

Queries concerning permissions or translation rights should be addressed to:
Director of Information, OECD
2, rue André-Pascal, 75775 PARIS CEDEX 16, France.

CONTENTS

Preface 5

I. MOTIVATION AND PARTICIPATION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO NON-TRADITIONAL FORMS OF STUDY, by Cyril O. Houle 7

II. COUNTRY CASE STUDIES

Denmark, by Lars Th. Bjørn 36

France, by Joseph Rovan 49

Italy, by Anna Lorenzetto 56

The Netherlands, by Theo J. Jeuring 68

Spain, by Pedro Luis Gomis Diaz 95

United Kingdom, by Stuart Marriott 108

United States, by Jack London and Milton R. Stern 140

III. INVOLVING INDUSTRIAL WORKERS IN POST-COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN GERMANY, by Albert Pflüger 163

IV. A CASE STUDY BASED ON AN URBAN OVERSPILL HOUSING ESTATE, by Paul Fordham, Liam Healy, and Lawrence Randle 183

PREFACE

Under the programme of the Education Committee, the Secretariat has prepared during the past three years a series of general and national studies of issues, problems and trends in adult education. These studies are now being presented in four volumes under the overall title of "Learning Opportunities for Adults". The present volume is the third in the series.

Volume I consists of a systematic appraisal of the present scope and status of adult education in OECD Member countries, together with an analysis of the administrative, financial and other measures required in order to enlarge its base in society and to widen the range of public and private programmes. Volume II contains a number of studies of recent innovations in national structures, programmes and methods. Volume IV describes the various forms of adult education currently provided in certain Member countries and gives estimates of rates of participation and the characteristics of participants. It also furnishes some factual evidence about the scale and provenance of public and private expenditure on adult education.

The present volume focuses on the problem of non-participation in adult education. It is well-established that non-participation is closely correlated with social and educational status. The lower that status the less is the inclination to engage in organised learning activities. In social terms this implies that those members of society who would seem to have most to gain from furthering their education are precisely those who shun it, either because they see no utility in it or because they believe they were failures at school and do not wish to risk the humiliation or failure for a second time.

The object of this collection of studies is to analyse the extent and nature of the non-participation problem and to identify current efforts to deal with it. Since a lack of motivation is the main obstacle to participation, it appeared necessary to begin with a general analysis of the reasons for negative attitudes towards learning and see whether it might be possible to remove them by developing new types of learning situations. The remaining studies are of two kinds. First, there are explorations of the non-participation phenomenon in several countries - Denmark, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, the United Kingdom and the United States. Secondly, there are two studies of attempts to appeal to particular groups: (a) a global view of the problem of involving industrial workers in Germany in adult education; (b) an evaluation of an educational programme designed for people living on a housing estate in England.

These studies show that, while there are minor differences, the characteristics of non-participants do not vary significantly from one country to another. They also show that when programmes are carefully planned to meet the needs of specific target groups it is possible to attract new recruits into adult education. It is a question of disaggregating the potential audience, finding the necessary resources and applying ingenuity to the choice of subjects and instructional methods.

I

MOTIVATION AND PARTICIPATION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO NON-TRADITIONAL FORMS OF STUDY

by

Cyril O. Houle

I. INTRODUCTION

No other subject is more widely pondered and discussed by people interested in the education of adults than the motives which lead men and women to introduce systematic learning into the patterns of their lives. Legal requirements reinforced by social expectations no longer apply to them. Yet in the years beyond compulsory schooling and amidst all the pleasures and duties of responsible maturity, many people are moved to devote part of their time to the development of their potentialities. They either go seeking for an activity or somehow become aware that one exists and are led by impulses, often obscure to themselves, to take part in it. Many other people never seek, are never aware of opportunity or, if it does come to their attention, are apathetic or negative to it.

Why do people seek or choose a particular form of knowledge? The customary assumption, almost universally accepted by both scholars of the process of education and by non-scholarly observers, is that motive and content are reciprocal. The reason why an adult participates in a non-traditional activity can be determined from a knowledge of its subject-matter. When an adult identifies a need or interest, he goes directly to the content which will best serve his purposes.

A few examples of the application of this assumption will help make it concrete. If a man is taking a course in welding, he is doing so to get a job as a welder. If an educator believes that sensitivity to the arts and humanities should be fostered among the public his institution serves, he should schedule programmes dealing with literature, music, history, painting, and sculpture. If an analyst of the work of an organisation wants to determine the motives of the students it attracts, the way to do so is to examine its offering and see how many people are attracted to each segment. Anyone who wishes to understand the general orientation of a man or woman toward learning may do so by examining the pattern of his or her participation in educational activities.

Anybody who has read very much of the literature of adult education will recognise that this assumption underlies most of the expositions, discussions, and debates in the field. The ramifications are almost endless. In economically advanced countries, assertions are made about liberal and vocational education, religious and secular study, individual and social aspirations, civic responsibility and personal freedom, and economic gain as opposed to aesthetic enjoyment. These dichotomies or polar extremes on scales of values are dealt with almost wholly in terms of the content learned or taught. In the less economically advantaged communities, debates about how scarce resources should be allocated centre almost entirely on what is to be taught. Is it to be basic literacy, vocational studies, a classical university programme to prepare leaders, or a series of courses in management?

In this report, several studies which bear upon this assumption will be reviewed. All but one were conducted in the United States, a fact which may have biased their results to some extent. This limitation was [illegible]ed by the author's inability to find studies done in other coun[illegible] which relate motive directly to content. Presumably such studies do in fact exist or are likely to be conducted in the future. If so, a comparison with the data here presented will be fruitful as will a discussion of the causes and consequences of any agreements or differences which may be found.

Some Definitions

Since the assumption that motive and content are virtually identical is widespread, few people pause to examine the truth of the belief. Those few who do ask for evidence are often frustrated because the terms used - such as "content", "motive", or "orientation" - are imprecise and slippery, meaning different things to different people. In this report, therefore, it seems essential to begin by defining key terms as the author understands them, though the subsequent descriptions of the studies will use the words of the investigators.

Motive. The first and most important term is "motive", which is here taken to be an inciting cause which helps to determine an individual's choice of an objective and his behaviour in seeking it. It is assumed that people always make choices and take actions because they have reasons for doing so. Thus a man may undertake an educational programme because he wants to advance on his job, to share an activity with a friend, and to make a good impression on his employer. He may or may not be aware of all his motives and may even reject some which a counsellor believes to be present. For example, does he enter the programme in order to escape for a while from his wife? He might say no; she might say yes.

The variety of motives can best be perceived by asking men and women to say in their own words why they seek non-traditional education. Before these reasons are grouped and generalised into categories, as research usually requires, it is useful to see how straightforwardly and directly people express themselves on the subject. Here are fourteen comments, slightly edited by the present author, expressing very different points of view:

"I was determined to be of some service to my day and generation. I realised also that when I was in the elementary school, I was not what one could call a "bright boy". So I set out at the age of 26 years to be equal to the "bright boys" of my early school days, and I am now in that state when I can stand up to them and teach them many things. The adult class did it."

"I was a self-appointed unpaid missionary for a cause I believed in, and I thought adult education would make me fitter to make converts."

"The real reason why I took up adult education was, in the major part, selfish ... I hoped to rise socially by using my class as a stepping stone. Since then I have come in contact with many different types of people, holding different views upon adult education: (a) the real materialist who studied for future gain; (b) the ardent crusader who desired to help his fellow-men in his struggles against oppression; (c) the student who gathered knowledge for the pleasure of knowing. I have passed through these stages, and now I'm afraid I find myself in (c) with only a desire to know."

"To teach me the 'Art of Living'. To train me to make the best use of my leisure. To train me to express myself better and thus make me more sociable. Lastly, I thought it would make me ambitious. This last has failed."

"I held a position of trust and I wished to make myself equal to it."

"It was something to do and I liked the friend who was already in the class."

"My mother committed suicide. Life gave me a shock and day-dreaming didn't satisfy me. New problems faced me. Problems of religion and life. I wanted an anchor."

"So far as I can remember, in joining every class I had a specific object in view. But after my first class and a savour of adult education, there was always the general reason that I wanted to develop myself educationally."

"I felt the need for social contact with men and women of similar tastes and ideas, and an association with them."

"I did not think anything about it. I just joined the class because I thought I would like it. I did like it and have gone on liking it ever since."

"I may as well spend the evenings in these classes as idle away my time in the streets."

"The fact that this class was to be conducted in the University was a great attraction to me."

"My main reason, of course, was that after my baby was born, if he was to be put to bed etc. at a proper hour, all our evening

> occupations away from home had to be curtailed. Living in a village with no library or other public facilities the winter nights in consequence were apt to become monotonous, and since my husband ... did not object to staying in and listening to the child, and as I felt I was getting dull ... and wanted to get out of the ordinary run of things, I decided to give [an adult class] a trial."
>
> "Just the result of a second birth and a new-born desire for education for its own sake."

These comments have a universal quality and might be given by adults at any time and place. They were actually made by British working-class people taking non-vocational courses in the mid-1930s.(1)

Orientation. Hidden behind the motive or cluster of motives which leads a man or woman to undertake a specific activity may be a generalised belief about education which governs his or her pattern of participation in education. Suppose, for example, that many adults are asked to check off on a list the reasons why they usually participate in learning. The results might show that a number of people indicate that the following reasons are highly important: to secure personal advancement; to gain additional credits for an academic record; to become eligible for benefits which could not otherwise be received; to fulfil a personal motivation to get ahead; to learn to make a social position in life more secure; and to keep up with competition. Those people who stressed such reasons as these but did not choose other items as being important might be said to have a fundamental educational orientation which might be designated as the desire to reach a personal goal. If another group chose a different set of reasons, then its members could be said to have a different motivation. For example, a group could check off the following motives on the list: to experience the pleasure of meeting new people; to make social contacts; to feel a sense of belonging; to become acquainted with congenial people; and to enjoy the fellowship of others. Such a group might be said to have as the underlying motivation for learning the desire to take part in social activity.

An educational orientation, then, may be defined as a complex but patterned cluster of goals which guides an individual, consciously or unconsciously, as he or she chooses and pursues learning activities. Some people seem to have but one orientation, while others have combinations of two or more and a significant number of adults cannot be "typed" at all. Burgess(2) identified seven basic orientations into

---

1) W.E. Williams and A.E. Heath, Learn and Live, Methuen and Co., Ltd., London: 1936, pp. 7-23.

2) Paul D. Burgess, "The Educational Orientations of Adult Participants in Group Educational Activities", unpublished doctoral dissertation, The University of Chicago, 1971, p. 134.

which the 1,046 subjects of his study conducted in the metropolitan St. Louis area could be divided (singly and in combination) as follows:

	Respondents
1. The desire to know	66
2. The desire to reach a personal goal	54
3. The desire to reach a social goal	54
4. The desire to reach a religious goal	42
5. The desire to take part in a social activity	38
6. The desire to escape	33
7. The desire to comply with formal requirements	38
8. To know - personal goal	33
9. To know - social goal	40
10. To know - religious goal	29
11. To know - and activity, escape, or requirement	37
12. Personal goal - social goal	87
13. Personal goal - religious goal	58
14. Personal goal - and activity, escape, or requirement	35
15. Social goal - religious goal	28
16. Social goal - and activity, escape, or requirement	34
17. Religious goal - and activity, escape, or requirement	24
18. Activity - requirement	81
19. Activity - requirement - and either/or to know, social goal, or religious goal	106
20. No highly influential factor	129

A similar study by Boshier(1) of only 233 participants in New Zealand identified fourteen basic orientations. Six of Burgess' seven were identified, the only missing one being "to reach a religious goal". Most of the added seven were congruent with those of Burgess but factored out independently, perhaps because of the small size of Boshier's sample. Thus whereas Burgess had one item "the desire to reach a social goal", Boshier had separate scores for social contact, social sharing, social improvement and escape, and interpersonal facilitation. Boshier also identified some orientations not found by Burgess such as desires for educational preparedness, for educational compensation, for television abhorrence, and for personal solitude.

Boshier's study was subsequently replicated in a study by Barry R. Morstain and John C. Smart(2) of 648 participants in

---

1) Roger Boshier, "Motivational Orientations of Adult Education Participants: A Factor Analytic Exploration of Houle's Typology", Adult Education, 21 (1971), pp. 3-26.

2) Barry R. Morstain and John C. Smart, "Reasons for Participation in Adult Education Courses: A Multivariate Analysis of Group Differences", Adult Education, 24 (1974), 83-98.

New Jersey. The six most important orientations were the same as those found by Boshier. Once again, the desire to reach a religious goal was not found. Burgess had not, in fact, expected to discover this orientation and had hypothesised two which his data did not reveal: the desire to comply with pressures exerted by relatives, friends, and society; and the desire to study alone or just to be alone.(1) Boshier found the second of these but not the first.

These studies of orientation (as well as an application of the Burgess formulation to be described later) seem to be fairly congruent despite their surface divergences. Much broader scale testing will be required before any list can be accepted as definitive. More than that, many investigators would like to deepen such a formulation into a basic theory which would explain, in coherent fashion, the entire matrix of reasons why adults seek to learn. Even more ambitiously, some scholars in the field have suggested that personality theories might well be based on the behaviour observed in educational activities, even as other theories have been based on psychiatric practice, the analysis of the results of tests and measurements, and other sources of data. Alternatively it has been suggested that perhaps currently available or forthcoming data on participation in education might be made to square with existing theories derived from other kinds of data or from theoretical speculation. As yet, however, no more than exploratory ventures of this sort have been undertaken. The only objectively verified data have led to the establishment of orientations and, as yet, they have not been fitted together into a widely accepted whole.

Content. As for "content", the sophisticate knows that distinctions among the various branches of subject-matter are largely arbitrary and that much of the frontier thinking which produces new knowledge lies in the interstices which in the past have separated the established disciplines. Social psychology has come into its own as have mathematical biophysics, educational sociology, and both psycho-history and statistical history (often called cliometrics). The separation into categories of learning content is ordinarily undertaken by the administrators of an agency or a group of agencies or by a researcher studying their work. Any such grouping of courses is therefore one which appears reasonable in a local or national setting and is an interactive result of the availability of resources and of the demand for them. The most thorough and complex taxonomy of content offered in adult education was provided in the study made for the National Opinion Research Center by Johnstone and Rivera(2)

---

1) Paul Burgess, "Reasons for Adult Participation in Group Educational Activities", Adult Education, 22 (1971), pp. 3-29.

2) John W.C. Johnstone and Ramon J. Rivera, Volunteers for Learning, Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago, 1965.

(subsequently referred to here as "The NORC study"). In the present report, "content" will be taken to mean any systematic offering of subject-matter, skills, or aesthetic perceptions by a post-compulsory educational institution. In each of the studies to be summarised the categorisation of content will be that used by the original investigator.

II. THE DESIGN OF THE INQUIRY

The definition of the three basic terms establishes the simple design of the inquiry with which this report is concerned. The adults enrolled in a number of courses can be asked about either their motives for participation or their orientations. The content which they are studying can then be compared to either of these two purposive factors in order to establish the extent of congruence. Many such studies have probably been made in some fashion or other but data from only four will be used here. Each will be discussed separately and the findings of all four will then be considered together.

McGrath's Study. The first study was undertaken by Earl J. McGrath(1) in Buffalo in 1936 and included data on 9,369 students then registered in the non-traditional educational programmes sponsored by the major depression relief agency, the public schools (elementary, vocational, and secondary), the collegiate institutions, the YMCA and YWCA, and the business schools. Since all of the courses were offered in the same city, they were broadly available to all persons interviewed. Table 1, copied from McGrath's study, shows the purposes given by the adult registrants in various kinds of courses.

In McGrath's study, a fairly simple categorisation of content is used and the items are not parallel in their degree of specificity. Thus "art" and "physical education" are narrower in scope than "academic" or "elementary subjects" and it is not clear how "commercial" and "vocational" are to be distinguished from one another. The list of purposes, apparently derived introspectively by McGrath, is wholly "worthy", using only socially acceptable and educationally related goals and omitting such motives as the desire to escape, to respond to social pressure, or to seek companionship.

Even in this simple and straightforward analysis, however, two general tendencies can be discerned. First, the major purposes conform fairly well to the content. One would expect, for example, that people engaged in physical education would be doing so in order to maintain or improve health (31.3 per cent) or for recreation (31.2 per cent). It also seems natural that people engaged in vocational or

---

1) Earl J. McGrath, The Adult Student in Buffalo, The Buffalo Foundation, Buffalo, 1938.

Table 1

REASONS GIVEN BY ADULT STUDENTS FOR ATTENDING VARIOUS TYPES OF ADULT COURSES IN BUFFALO DURING NOVEMBER 1936

(expressed in percentages)

Purposes	Academic n=2,279	Vocational n=1,949	Commercial n=2,018	Art n=1,940	Elementary Subjects n=660	Physical Education n=1,052
To fulfil requirements for a degree or certificate	44.1	2.5	15.4	1.0	7.9	0.8
To further education	18.5	15.2	16.9	13.1	10.3	5.7
To advance in vocation	18.1	46.5	47.5	8.5	3.3	5.1
For cultural improvement	10.2	10.0	8.0	27.4	16.8	22.0
Because of interest in special subject	8.2	23.3	13.1	35.0	8.6	17.2
For purposes of recreation	2.0	3.0	1.4	8.6	1.1	31.2
To achieve citizenship	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.4	50.8	0.5
To maintain or improve health	0.1	0.4	0.5	0.7	0.4	31.3
Miscellaneous	1.5	0.6	0.6	1.5	0.4	2.5
No reason given	6.8	4.0	5.0	9.0	4.2	10.9
Total(1)	109.8	105.7	107.95	105.2	103.8	127.2

1) These percentages exceed 100.0 because some students mentioned more than one reason.

commercial courses would be doing so in order to advance in vocation (46.5 per cent and 47.5 per cent respectively). Second. important supplementary reasons also exist. In fact, in only one category do the majority (and that a bare one of 50.8 per cent) of the participants in one type of adult course identify a single purpose. In most cases, the reasons given for participation in a type of course are readily understandable. Those taking academic subjects do so to fulfil degree or certificate requirements (44.1 per cent), to further education (18.5 per cent), to advance in vocation (18.1 per cent), or for cultural improvement (10.2 per cent). But some purposes are harder to explain. Why should 10.0 per cent of those taking vocational courses, 8.0 per cent of those taking commercial courses, and 22.0 per cent of those taking physical education do so for cultural improvement?

NORC Study. The NORC study, conducted in 1963, asked a national carefully stratified sample of adults whether they had participated in some form of organised learning during the preceding year. Of the 4,603 respondents who had participated, information on both content and motive was collected on 4,175. As already noted, the analysis of content was carefully made, but the list of motives was apparently introspectively derived. The results of the cross-tabulation are presented in Table 2, somewhat simplified from its presentation in the NORC study.(1)

The NORC study's "reasons" are substantially different from McGrath's "purposes". The former are more "realistic" and less centred on wholly educational goals. Moreover the fulfilment of degree and certificate requirements which is so prominent in McGrath's list does not appear at all in the NORC study. Respondents in the later investigation were asked to suggest additional reasons why courses were taken; even then degree or certificate completion was not suggested as a motive. In comparing the results of the two studies, it should also be noted that while both investigations permitted participants to include more than one motive, this option was exercised much more frequently in the NORC study than in the McGrath study.

An examination of the NORC findings reveals some interesting conclusions. Participants in personal development had the widest range of reasons (244 per cent), followed in order by those studying religion (200 per cent), vocational courses (193 per cent), academic courses (177 per cent), home and family life (175 per cent), hobbies and recreation (165 per cent), and public affairs (135 per cent). Every type of subject matter other than academic courses and study in home and family life had one reason which was significantly stronger than the others. As in the McGrath study, the dominant reason and many of the subordinate reasons seemed congruent with commonsense

---

1) Johnstone and Rivera, op. cit., p. 146.

Table 2

REASONS FOR TAKING COURSES, BY TYPE OF SUBJECT MATTER STUDIED (expressed in percentages)

Reasons	Type of Subject Matter						
	Vocational	Academic	Hobbies and Recreation	Home and Family	Personal Development	Religion	Public Affairs
Prepare for a new job	52	25	14	17	26	5	14
Help on present job	42	37	9	9	37	10	11
Become better informed	44	42	21	41	55	74	67
Spare-time enjoyment	9	20	58	32	35	24	6
Home-centred tasks	12	8	4	40	20	21	3
Other everyday tasks	11	9	2	5	18	19	8
Meet new people	13	17	25	12	25	18	4
Escape the daily routine	6	11	25	14	21	17	1
None of these or don't know	4	8	7	5	7	12	21
Total(1)	193	177	165	175	244	200	135

1) Does not total 100 per cent because some persons gave more than one reason.

expectations. But (as was also the case in the earlier study) some unexpected reasons also emerged, partly perhaps because of the "realistic" character of the motives. It is hard to fathom why degree-seeking did not appear at all in the NORC study, not even in the academic courses. In other cases, initial surprise is usually followed by comprehension. For example, 13 per cent of those taking vocational courses did so to meet new people - but such acquaintanceship may be very important for advancement in the same occupation or preparation for a new one. A similar line of reasoning usually appears in other cases.

Tables 3(1) and 4(2) carry the NORC analysis further by giving more detailed information on vocational and non-vocational participation. (Both tables are somewhat simplified from their original presentation.) Here the by-now-familiar pattern of concentration and spread of reasons for participation is again evident but some of the reasons given grow harder to explain. Why do 13 per cent of those taking salesmanship courses do so to perform home-centred tasks, 12 per cent of those studying office machines want to escape the daily routine, and 21 per cent of those learning to be practical nurses wish to meet new people? Why is there such a variation among various subjects in the generalised desire to be better informed? Why is the study of English so strongly related to the desire to prepare for a new job (23 per cent) or to help on a present job (45 per cent)? Why are the natural sciences undertaken because they can help with home-centred (14 per cent) or other daily tasks (14 per cent)? Why is art appreciation so strongly job-related? Why do a third of all people who study the decorative arts do so to escape the daily routine? And why is the desire to meet new people so much more important for the students of non-occupational than for occupational subjects?

Burgess' Study. In establishing the seven basic educational orientations and twenty orientation profile-types which he identified, Burgess administered instruments to participants in activities divided into five subject-matter categories: academic, vocational, functional,(3) personal development, and public affairs. Approximately 200 respondents were in programmes in each of these categories. After classifying all persons studied into the 20 profile-types already listed, Burgess looked to see whether there was a significant relationship between orientation and content studied. His findings were that:

---

1) *Ibid*., p. 149.

2) *Ibid*., p. 150.

3) The other four designations are obvious. The "functional" category had to do with preparation for various roles such as spouse, parent, home-maker, church leader, or volunteer.

Table 3

REASONS FOR TAKING SELECTED VOCATIONAL ADULT EDUCATION COURSES
(expressed in percentages)

Reasons	Technical Courses	Teacher Training	Other Professions	Business Management	Salesmanship	Office Machines	General Office Skills	Mechanics	Other Skilled Trades	Operatives Skills	Practical Nursing and Related Skills	Personal Services
Prepare for a new job	45	26	51	44	31	85	65	45	61	63	36	71
Help on a present job	55	64	62	59	59	21	25	53	33	46	21	30
Become better informed	38	59	36	58	20	27	24	37	17	14	54	43
Spare-time enjoyment	10	16	6	3	13	8	8	12	11	3	7	1
Home-centred tasks	9	16	-	1	13	9	7	11	14	18	42	14
Other everyday tasks	5	26	6	4	21	3	7	11	11	10	26	15
Meet new people	5	24	8	9	25	1	11	10	12	1	21	24
Escape the daily routine	3	7	-	5	2	12	8	-	10	0	9	11
None of these or don't know	3	10	1	6	7	1	3	1	5	1	1	8
Total per cent(1)	173	248	170	189	191	167	158	180	174	156	217	217

1) Does not total 100 per cent because some persons gave more than one reason.

Table 4

REASONS FOR TAKING SELECTED NON-VOCATIONAL ADULT EDUCATION COURSES
(expressed in percentages)

Reasons	Academic				Hobbies-Recreation							Other			
	English	Foreign Languages	Mathematics/ Statistics	Natural Sciences	Athletics	Bridge	Dancing	Music (Performing)	Art (Painting)	Art (Appreciation)	Decorative Arts	Sewing-cooking	Child Care	Traditional Religious Training	Driving Lessons
Prepare for a new job	23	11	26	50	13	-	12	23	31	20	1	3	49	5	3
Help on present job	45	26	61	33	7	-	13	2	8	40	1	14	4	11	19
Become better informed	31	54	27	38	15	12	6	26	18	40	33	30	56	75	7
Spare-time enjoyment	29	28	9	25	56	67	73	74	46	48	59	32	19	27	41
Home-centred tasks	13	1	2	14	-	-	-	2	-	-	29	44	41	23	41
Other everyday tasks	9	13	12	14	-	2	-	12	2	3	1	8	2	22	35
Meet new people	19	37	1	5	20	58	37	6	29	12	35	6	17	15	3
Escape the daily routine	15	7	2	8	33	27	25	21	19	15	33	8	4	18	4
None of these or don't know	16	8	7	[illegible]	15	15	8	-	5	-	6	9	-	14	9
Total per cent(1)	200	185	147	187	159	181	174	166	158	178	198	154	192	210	162

1) Does not total 100 per cent because some persons gave more than one reason.

adult learners characterised by certain educational orientation profile-types tend to seek out a certain kind of subject matter. The nine groups of respondents, their characteristic orientation profile-type, and the subject matter category in which widest spread occurred, both greater than expected and fewer than expected were:

Orientation 2, The Desire to Reach a Personal Goal - greater in academic subjects and fewer in public affairs;

Orientation 3, The Desire to Reach a Social Goal - greater in public affairs and fewer in vocational;

Orientation 6, The Desire to Escape - greater in functional subjects and fewer in personal development;

Orientation 8, To Know - Personal Goal - greater in personal development subjects and fewer in functional;

Orientation 9, To Know - Social Goal - greater in public affairs subjects and fewer in functional and personal development;

Orientation 13, Personal Goal - Religious Goal - greater in personal development and functional subjects and fewer in academic and public affairs;

Orientation 14, Personal Goal and ... Activity, Escape or Requirement - greater in academic and vocational subjects and fewer in public affairs;

Orientation 16, Social Goal and ... Activity, Escape, or Requirement - greater in public affairs subjects and fewer in functional; and

Orientation 20, No Highly Influential Factor - greater in functional subjects and fewer in public affairs.

On the other hand, adult learners characterised by the other eleven educational orientation profile-types participated in the subject matter activities in a more diverse pattern. Those respondents characterised by the eleven profile-types listed below were distributed within chance expectations among all subject matter categories:

Orientation 1, The Desire to Know;
Orientation 4, The Desire to Reach a Religious Goal;
Orientation 5, The Desire to Take Part in Social Activity;
Orientation 7, The Desire to Comply with Formal Requirements;
Orientation 10, To Know - Religious Goal;
Orientation 11, To Know and ... Activity, Escape or Requirement;
Orientation 12, Personal Goal - Social Goal;
Orientation 15, Social Goal - Religious Goal;

Orientation 17, Religious Goal and ... Activity, Escape, or Requirement
Orientation 18, Activity - Requirement; and
Orientation 19, Activity - Requirement and ... To Know, Social Goal, or Religious Goal.(1)

Because of the relatively small size of the samples and the breadth of the categories of content, it is not clear that Burgess' findings can be accepted as having great practical significance, particularly when it is remembered that he was using orientation, not motive, as a basis of comparison. In some cases, registrants were almost certainly departing from their basic profile-types to engage in activity, perhaps because it was available at the required time, because they wanted to be with friends, or because participation was required as part of a larger programme of study. Despite these limitations, however, Burgess' findings of a significant relationship between profile-type and content deserves mention as an important aspect of the relationship between educational motivation and content.

Burgess also examined each of the 54 activities in which he secured data to determine how many different profile-types could be found in each.(2) The data are presented in Table 5. They indicate that every social educational activity includes a number of different profile-types. Even an activity with as few as eight respondents has six profile-types and, in general, the greater the participation, the more profile-types are to be found.

ETS Study. The fourth and most recent investigation of the relationship between motivation and participation in non-traditional forms of study was carried out by the Educational Testing Service in the summer of 1972 as one of a group of studies undertaken to support the work of the Commission on Non-Traditional Study.(3) A stratified national sample of 3,910 individuals aged 18 to 60 who were not full-time students was asked whether each of its members had received instruction in any of a number of listed topics during the preceding twelve months. Of the total respondents, 1,207 (or 31 per cent) answered in the affirmative and were designated as Learners.

All respondents were also asked to respond to a very broad question which was designed to identify the largest possible audience for non-traditional education. It was "Is there anything in particular that you'd like to know more about, or would like to learn how to do

---

1) Burgess, unpublished doctoral dissertation, pp. 177-179.

2) Ibid., p. 182.

3) This Commission, established by the College Entrance Examination Board and the Educational Testing Service with support from the Carnegie Corporation, has published its basic report under the title Diversity by Design, Jossey-Bass, Inc., San Francisco, 1973.

Table 5

THE NUMBER OF DIFFERENT ORIENTATION PROFILE-TYPES FOUND AMONG RESPONDENTS ATTENDING EACH OF THIRTY-NINE EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES WHERE DATA WERE COLLECTED

Activity Number(a)	The Number of Orientation Profile-Types found among Respondents Attending	The Number of Respondents Attending	Activity Number	The Number of Orientation Profile-Types found among Respondents Attending	The Number of Respondents Attending
1	6	8	21	11	22
2	6	10	22	11	23
3	6	13	23	12	14
4	7	8	24	12	22
5	7	8	25	12	24
6	7	10	26	13	17
7	7	11	27	13	22
8	7	12	28	13	24
9	8	14	29	14	27
10	9	14	30	14	32
11	9	14	31	14	34
12	9	15	32	15	23
13	9	18	33	16	30
14	9	18	34	17	35
15	10	13	35	17	55
16	10	14	36	17	85
17	10	14	37	18	54
18	10	15	38	18	88
19	10	17		-	-
20	10	18	39	20	151(b)
				Total	1,046

a) Number assigned by investigator for identifying a particular activity.

b) This group of respondents was attending sixteen different classes.

better?" Of the total sample, 3,001 (or 77 per cent) answered affirmatively. This group is identified as the Would-Be Learners. Most of the figures reported subsequently are in percentages and it should be noted that the sample sizes, particularly in some of the smaller groupings of data, are subject to large margins of error. The study has been briefly reported in the literature(1) but the present author has had access to the much fuller basic data. The Educational Testing Service has very generously provided special tabulations for this report for which service the author would like to express his profound gratitude. The general inquiry (both the published and the unpublished parts) will be referred to, for the sake of convenience, as "the ETS study".

In it, the list of motives was drawn, with some modifications, from the items used by Burgess in establishing orientations. Thus a coverage of topics was assured, especially since the investigators added several items of their own. No tallying according to orientations was undertaken, however. In assessing content, two different basic lists were used, a lengthy one (48 items) for the Would-Be Learners and a shorter one (16 items) for the Learners. Both were reduced to identical broad categorisations, however, and, for the sake of brevity, will be so reported here. Several other important variations (to be noted later) occur between the handling of the data for Learners and for Would-Be Learners.

The number of Learners studying in each field were as follows:

vocational	422
hobbies and recreation	505
religion	167
general educational subjects	304
home and family life	161
personal development	138
public affairs	77
agriculture	41
Total	1,815

This tabulation indicates that some of the 1,207 Learners were participating in more than one activity. Those who were multiple participants were asked to choose the topic on which the most time had been spent and to indicate all of the reasons which had been influential in participating in that activity. These reasons cannot be cross-tabulated with the field of study above since the respondents were not asked to indicate in which field their most time-consuming course

---

1) Abraham Carp, Richard Peterson, and Pamela Roelfs, "Learning Interests and Experiences of Adult Americans" in Planning for Non-Traditional Programs, by K. Patricia Cross, John R. Valley and Associates, Jossey-Bass, Inc., San Francisco: 1974.

was included. The number of people who identified each motive as relevant was:

help get a new job	215
help advance in present job	299
become better informed; personal enjoyment and enrichment	667
meet new people	214
meet requirements for getting into an educational programme	45
be a better parent, husband, or wife	228
get away from the routine of daily living	231
work toward certification or licensing	174
better understand community problems	110
be better able to serve my church	115
meet the requirements of employer, profession, or other authority	329
become a more effective citizen	135
work toward a degree	103
learn more about my own background and culture	96
feel a sense of belonging	104
curiosity, learn for the sake of learning	384
become a happier person	316
work toward solution of such problems as discrimination or pollution	114
get away from personal problems	82
improve my spiritual well-being	161
other	26
no reason given	38

These two sets of figures show yet again how varied is the content undertaken by learners and how complex is their motivation for study. If cross-tabulation were possible, perhaps some additional facts might come to light supplementing that revealed by the McGrath and NORC studies. The different bases of the questions, however, make such a comparison impossible.

The ETS study provides the basis for comparison of motive and content for a population not considered in other studies: the people who would like to participate in learning activities. This group includes some present participants (95 per cent of the Learners are also Would-Be Learners) but the simple arithmetic of 3,001 Would-Be Learners and only 1,207 Learners indicate that there are more non-participants than participants in the group.

As has been pointed out, the Would-Be Learners were asked the most all-inclusive question which the investigators could devise. In order to make the choice of area of learning less wide-open, the respondents in this category were then asked which area they would "most like to study or learn". Three choices were allowed but only the first was tabulated. It showed the following distribution of Would-Be Learners:

vocational	1,291
hobbies and recreation	403
religion	89
general educational subjects	377
home and family life	360
personal development	204
public affairs	136
agriculture	86
no response or other	56

The Would-Be Learners were also asked to indicate whether each of the reasons on a provided list was very important, somewhat important, or not at all important so far as the highest priority item was concerned. Counting only those motives listed as very important, the distribution was as follows:

help get a new job	763
help advance in present job	512
become better informed; personal enjoyment and enrichment	1,694
meet new people	556
meet requirements for getting into an educational programme	403
be a better parent, husband, or wife	900
get away from the routine of daily living	578
work toward certification or licensing	824
better understand community problems	508
be better able to serve my church	372
meet the requirements of employer, profession, or other authority	723
become a more effective citizen	781
work toward a degree	628
learn more about my own background and culture	410
feel a sense of belonging	588
curiosity, learn for the sake of learning	1,052
become a happier person	1,121
work toward solution of such problems as discrimination or pollution	492
get away from personal problems	341
improve my spiritual well-being	582
other	112
no reason given	434

Because the lists of areas of content and of motives are identical for the Learners and the Would-Be Learners, the reader may be tempted to compare the responses for the two samples. As already noted, however, the strikingly different questions and treatment of the data forbid any but the most general comparisons.

Among the Would-Be Learners, the questions on which the data were based make it possible to compare motives and content. Table 6 is comparable to Tables 1 and 2 in that Would-Be Learners in various subject areas report the motives which lead them to want to participate. In the ETS study, the number of motives thought to be very important is far more diversified than is true in the earlier cases. Three causes may help to explain this diversity. First, the number of motives was larger than in the McGrath or NORC study. Second, the persons queried had to respond to every motive suggested, assessing its importance to them; thus totals become less meaningful than in the earlier studies and are not included here. Third, and perhaps most important, most of the respondents had not had actual experience with the kind of learning they chose and may have projected values for the study of a subject which it does not actually possess. It is hard to understand, for example, why vocational education should be thought to lead to spiritual well-being and one suspects that the 14.3 per cent of the Would-Be Learners who thought that reason to be very important may have had some expectations which are not well-founded. Taking the comparisons as a whole, however, they appear to lead to the same kind of relationship between content and motive which was found in the two earlier comparable studies.

Table 7 presents an analysis in the reverse direction, reporting the first choice of learning content chosen by Would-Be Learners who had a very important reason for wanting to learn. In comparing this table with the preceding one, it should be noted that, as was suggested in the introduction to this report, the initial impetus to learn may arise from either a desire to achieve a goal or from an awareness that an activity is available. It seems logical to assume that the goal comes before participation - and perhaps it does in most cases. It is often true, however, that participation is not a purposeful nor even a deeply-thought-through activity. It may come about by chance, by sudden impulse, by the persuasion of a friend, or by the selection of the most palatable among various alternatives. Sometimes the real purpose for engaging in an activity does not appear until after participation has begun. Thus it cannot be argued that Table 7 gives a truer picture of participation than do Tables 1, 2, and 6.

Since Table 7 is the only available resource which takes motive to be the independent variable, however, it is worth examining with special interest. More than in any of the other comparable tables,

Table 6

MOTIVES FOR DESIRING TO TAKE COURSES, BY TYPES OF SUBJECT MATTER DESIRED
(expressed in percentages)

Reason Considered to be Very Important	First Choice Learning Interest in Field							
	Vocational	Hobbies/ Recreation	Religion	General Education	Home/ Family	Personal Development	Public Affairs	Agriculture
New job	37.8	13.4	9.9	21.5	12.2	14.8	11.1	32.0
Job advancement	25.6	7.5	5.2	15.7	8.0	12.8	10.4	15.0
Information, enjoyment	51.6	70.2	66.7	64.8	49.5	54.1	64.4	47.0
Meet new people	17.2	26.6	22.7	16.5	16.1	14.4	26.6	17.1
Requirements for educational programme	16.9	7.8	8.0	24.0	8.9	5.5	6.5	0.0
Better parent	26.9	23.9	60.8	26.0	53.3	28.0	32.9	3.9
Escape routine	15.4	39.3	9.4	18.0	15.9	14.9	13.7	31.0
Certificate, licence	41.9	20.2	6.7	19.7	11.3	18.0	14.6	12.2
Understand community	15.0	10.6	30.0	15.2	14.0	17.9	59.9	12.2
Serve church	10.1	12.2	68.4	14.4	12.9	4.3	11.3	4.6
Requirements of employer	38.8	9.0	13.1	17.3	8.4	12.2	20.3	23.6
Effective citizen	26.0	15.0	41.5	28.0	21.6	25.0	59.0	21.7
Degree	31.3	9.7	4.1	17.8	11.3	18.0	10.3	14.4
Background of culture	10.2	18.6	24.8	19.2	13.2	14.8	18.0	5.6
Sense of belonging	19.9	16.7	28.5	23.5	17.9	8.5	31.0	13.5
Curiosity	30.0	45.2	7.1	40.1	40.0	33.0	44.3	36.5
Become happier	34.6	38.6	46.3	35.1	43.3	30.4	41.5	54.9
Solve problems	14.2	11.9	31.9	18.1	14.4	14.0	40.0	25.5
Escape personal problems	9.8	18.5	17.0	6.9	12.6	9.5	9.3	17.7
Spiritual well-being	14.3	23.9	80.2	21.4	22.1	13.2	12.1	22.7
Other reason	3.4	8.8	5.6	2.5	3.0	2.9	1.2	00.0
No important reason	13.9	13.7	3.2	12.5	17.9	23.4	11.3	9.0

Source: Special tabulation made for the author by the Educational Testing Service. Note that the columns should be read down since the independent variable is content and the dependent variable is motive.

Table 7

TYPES OF SUBJECT MATTER DESIRED BY PERSONS WHO HAVE VERY IMPORTANT REASONS FOR WANTING TO LEARN

(expressed in percentages)

Reason Considered to be Very Important	First Choice Learning Interest in Field									
	Vocational	Hobbies, Recreation	Religion	General Education	Home, Family	Personal Development	Public Affairs	Agriculture	Other	No first Choice
New job	63.9	7.1	1.2	10.6	5.8	4.0	2.0	3.6	0.9	1.0
Job advancement	64.8	5.9	0.9	11.5	5.7	5.1	2.8	2.5	0.8	0.4
Information, enjoyment	39.3	16.7	3.5	14.4	10.5	6.5	5.2	2.4	1.2	0.3
Meet new people	40.0	19.3	3.6	11.2	10.4	5.3	6.5	2.6	0.8	0.4
Required for educational programme	54.0	7.8	1.8	22.4	7.8	2.8	2.2	0.0	0.0	1.3
Better parent	38.6	10.7	6.0	10.8	21.4	6.3	5.0	0.4	0.5	0.4
Escape routine	34.3	27.4	1.5	11.6	9.9	5.1	3.2	4.6	1.4	0.9
Certificate, licence	65.7	9.9	0.7	9.0	5.0	4.5	2.4	1.3	1.0	0.7
Understand community	38.2	8.4	5.3	11.3	9.9	7.2	16.1	2.0	0.0	1.7
Serve church	35.2	13.2	16.9	14.7	12.5	2.3	4.1	1.1	0.0	0.5
Requirement of employer	69.2	5.0	1.6	9.0	4.2	3.5	3.8	2.8	0.4	0.5
Effective citizen	43.0	7.7	4.7	13.5	10.0	6.5	10.3	2.4	1.0	0.9
Degree	64.4	6.2	0.6	10.7	6.5	5.9	2.2	2.0	0.7	0.8
Background of culture	32.0	18.2	5.4	17.6	11.6	7.3	6.0	1.2	0.3	0.5
Sense of belonging	43.7	11.4	4.3	15.1	11.0	3.0	7.2	2.0	1.6	0.9
Curiosity	36.8	17.3	0.6	14.9	13.7	6.4	5.7	2.9	1.0	1.0
Become happier	39.9	13.9	3.7	11.8	13.9	5.5	5.0	4.2	1.2	0.9
Solve problems	37.3	9.7	5.8	13.8	10.5	5.8	11.0	4.5	1.1	0.6
Escape personal problem	37.3	21.8	4.5	7.6	13.4	5.7	3.7	4.4	1.2	0.6
Spiritual well-being	31.8	16.6	12.3	13.9	13.7	4.6	3.0	3.4	1.2	0.3
Other reason	39.4	31.8	4.5	8.6	3.2	5.3	1.4	0.8	0.5	0.3
No important reason	41.4	12.7	0.6	10.8	15.0	11.0	3.5	1.8	1.4	1.8

Source: Special tabulation made for the author by the Educational Testing Service. Note that the rows should be read horizontally since the independent variable is motive and the dependent variable is content.

it shows the dominance of the choice of vocational activities (already noted on p. 26) no matter what the motive for learning. Between a third and two-thirds of the people with every motive (even spiritual well-being) choose a vocational course. It is also true that with few exceptions those with every motive are represented in every kind of activity, though sometimes to an insignificant extent. As with the studies in which content is the independent and motive the dependent variable, the explanation of choices can often be interpreted though it may not, at first sight, be obvious. For one who wishes to be a better parent, the preponderant choice of content would seem to the uninitiated to be home and family living courses. Actually it is vocational subjects by a margin of almost two to one. Once this fact is evident, it is not hard to interpret it. Perhaps in many cases, an increased income would seem to be the best way of being a better parent. While one must strain hard in some of these cases to derive an explanation, it can usually be found.

In interpreting this table (as with Table 6) it must be remembered that the sample is made up of Would-Be Learners, not those who actually participate. When asked in another part of the ETS study why they do not take part in education, their answers are heavily concerned with economics. Some of them are cost (53 per cent), not enough time (46 per cent), home responsibilities (32 per cent), and job responsibilities (28 per cent). The heavy preponderance on vocational choices may also reflect the values of the society. If earlier tables are to be believed, a wide variety of reasons for participation influence those people who are actually enrolled. Perhaps the Would-Be Learners who do not participate are being kept from doing so because they feel that the only course of study they should follow is an economic one. Vocational education is easy to explain to a wife, a husband, a friend, or a fellow employee, and that fact may influence the choice of a course even though the motive for participation seems far removed from occupational study.

III. SOME CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The major conclusion is that a much more complicated relationship exists between motives and the content of educational activities than has customarily been thought to be true. The reason why an adult participates in a non-traditional learning activity cannot be infallibly determined from a knowledge of its subject-matter nor does the motive which impels a potential participant to action guide him simply and directly to the content category which an outsider might think most likely to serve his needs and interests.

Some specific conclusions are indicated by the studies reviewed. They also suggest implications for anyone who would like to advance the quality and quantity of non-traditional study.

1. Participation in any type of educational activity is undertaken for a number of different motives which operate collectively. For those who teach, counsel, or promote participation, it is highly useful to be aware of this complexity of approach, responding to those who already take part and, if greater participation is desired, building complex appeals in the public interpretation of the work of an institution or programme.

2. In most cases these motives reinforce and supplement one another. The complex of immediate purposes which lead to participation is fairly coherent and understandable, though more subtle than is often thought. In the NORC study, for example, academic subjects are undertaken for four major reasons: to become better informed, to help on the present job, to prepare for a new job, and to have spare-time enjoyment. Back of at least some of these motives probably lies a desire to secure an academic credential, although this fact did not emerge as significant in this particular study. These motives are coherent but they may well be broader in scope than most teachers and counsellors are aware.

3. In contrast to the above, in some cases motives and content diverge so greatly that it is hard to discern any relationship between them. This apparent lack of coherence may be a product of a particular investigative technique. Perhaps such was the case, for example, in McGrath's study where the pioneering nature of the investigation was such that both sets of categories were still in an early state of development. So far as existing studies are concerned, the lack of coherence can be only a matter of speculation. In future studies, however, apparent incongruencies might be followed up by exploratory questions.

Several plausible hypotheses may cause this wide divergence. One of them is a simple lack of availability of the activity desired and a decision to undertake whatever did happen to be available. While both McGrath and Burgess collected their data in single metropolitan areas in order to reduce the influence of unavailability, problems of transportation, scheduling, cost, and limited awareness of available resources are substantial even within a single city. Another hypothesis is that men and women participated in an activity through a misunderstanding of its nature, either failing to understand public announcements of it or not having adequate counselling. Still a third possibility is that some personal desire - the wish to be with a friend, the desire to find a sexual partner, or the convenience of a particular time and place - may have dominated the decision.

4. People vary greatly in their educational orientations. Burgess found that a minority were firmly fixed within some one orientation. Such people are often vocal and occasionally pugnacious

about their beliefs. "What's the point of learning anything unless it will do you some good?" asks the person oriented by the desire to reach a personal goal, and his question is intended to be rhetorical. "The chief distinction and the highest goal of mankind is the desire to know", says one whose sole orientation is built around that belief. Both a humanitarian individual and a totalitarian society argue for learning as a way to reach a social goal.

Most individuals either have mixed orientations or no discernible fixation on a single or multiple viewpoint. About such people - as well as about those who have single orientations - a host of questions could be made the subject of research. How was the profile-type achieved? Does it change as a result of experience? why are some profile-types drawn to particular categories of content whereas some are not? Most profoundly, perhaps, does complexity of orientation or lack of orientation arise from an unsophisticated lack of awareness of the availability of resources or from a complex and advanced knowledge of opportunities and a realisation that the participant should approach learning with a complex and wide-ranging point of view?

5. Every educational activity of a social nature probably has a number of profile-types. The smallest activity studied by Burgess had eight participants but six profile-types were represented. In general, the larger the number of people involved, the more profile-types were present. The immediate implication is that every instructional leader needs to be aware of the diversity of orientations represented in the activity he or she conducts and of the necessity to be sensitive to them. The Burgess typology (or some later more refined taxonomy) may be a useful device for helping to understand the generalised attitudes of present or hoped-for learners though it cannot suggest the specific motives which led or might lead them to attend.

6. The people who would like to learn choose occupational activities to a far greater extent than do those who actually take part and this conclusion is true regardless of the specific motivation. The most obvious explanation for this fact, though it must be put forward as hypothesis, lies in the probable lack of availability to many people of the specific kind of occupational opportunity they desire. Availability in such a case includes not only direct physical proximity but also the direct and indirect costs of instruction. Occupational education is usually much more expensive than other kinds of instruction because of the high equipment costs and the rapidity of obsolescence. It may well be true therefore that post-compulsory education in the United States calls for a fundamental reallocation of costs, which might restrict other opportunities in order to meet this expressed need.

A directly contrary interpretation is also possible though it, too, is wholly hypothetical. It seems unusual that, regardless of motive, Would-Be Learners show so intense a concern for occupational content whereas actual Learners do not participate dominantly in this form of learning. Could it be that the motives which actually cause people to become participants are much less exclusively concerned with work than are those which lead people in an open-ended way to say that they would choose occupational courses? Does the national concern for economic efficiency and the dominance of the work ethic among the country's values lead only to a professed desire to participate but not to actual participation itself?

IV. A FINAL NOTE

Two terms used in this report - "post-compulsory" and "non-traditional" - imply both novelty of approach and a sweep of categories which go far beyond most past concerns with education. Compulsory education, that learning which is undertaken prior to the legal school-leaving age, has a very long tradition, serves young people in a limited span of years, and does so in well-established and somewhat monolithic institutional forms. Changes occur by either evolution or revolution, but a widely-understood pattern exists as a benchmark against which to measure such changes. Traditional education may be provided at any age but, if furnished in adulthood, is modelled on the forms of instruction originally intended for young people. But non-compulsory education, essentially chosen by a man or woman without direct legal compulsion, and often in highly non-traditional ways, permits a range of content and sponsorship and a response to needs and interests which is far-reaching in character. A whole new point of view must be adopted for those who are the guides and _animateurs_ of such education and, as the early studies summarised in this report demonstrate, the establishment of boundaries is so perplexing a problem that as yet both are very much a product of the methodology of the investigation used.

The further elaboration of motives, orientations, and content will probably occur in an essentially separate fashion, each one being the subject of direct inquiry. A cross-comparison of the sort illustrated in this report does, however, provide a way of testing each concept against the others and thereby avoiding the narrowness of viewpoint so often characteristic of previous discussions. The time-honoured assumption that a motive or orientation can be infallibly determined by the content studied or that a specific or general wish to learn leads directly to a specific body of subject-matter is forever destroyed. In the education of adults, as in other fields of theoretical or applied knowledge, progress results from the replacement of over-simple beliefs or theoretical constructs by a more complex and usually more ambiguous awareness of the nature of reality.

II

COUNTRY CASE STUDIES

DENMARK

by

Lars Th. Bjørn

I. WHAT IS ADULT EDUCATION IN DENMARK?

Even if this appears to be a simple question - and even if the answer is a condition for getting any further - it will soon be proven that the answer is difficult. Different countries have different opinions as to what adult education is and what it should comprise.

As a rule, distinction is made between two main types of adult education:

General liberal education, which aims to impart knowledge and developing skills and personal self-fulfilment in line with the needs, wishes and abilities of the participant. This is divided into two main groups aiming:

- to give adults, who have not had sufficient basic education, further basic education;
- to offer adults leisure-time education of informatory and supplementary character (general adult education/popular education).

Vocational training, which aims to impart knowledge and skills according to the requirements of a certain occupation, a field of trade or society - and to improve the participant's possibilities for carrying out a specific job.

We shall return to the difficult problem of definition but here limit ourselves to the two main types of adult education just mentioned. They have not been mentioned in any order of priority; both types - with all their branches - will be of increasing importance in the educational society of the future.

Compared to other types of education in Denmark, adult education as a clearly defined entity is a fairly recent development. Contrary to what is the case with other, older and more formal types of education, such as primary, secondary and higher education, adult education and leisure-time instruction have not been favoured to the same extent through legal provisions.

Adult education has on the whole developed on the basis of local and national traditions, with which it is necessary to be acquainted if a profitable debate is to be initiated in our countries.

It is, for instance, necessary to bear in mind the very subtle Danish distinction between "undervisning" (education, instruction, teaching, tuition) and "oplysning" (information, knowledge, enlightenment, population education). Traditionally, adult education has been understood in Denmark to mean enlightenment, passing on of knowledge, popular education. The aim has been, since the national and popular movements in the middle of the 19th century, to awaken and inspire people, to make them responsible citizens in a democratic society. This awakening has had a definite humanistic content - and the notion has been that it would be impossible to awaken and enlighten through instruction or teaching. In fact, "oplysning" has something to do with feelings, it plays on the emotions - while "undervisning" mainly refers to intellectual comprehension.

Because of its nature and organisational conditions adult education is difficult to analyse satisfactorily with statistical data. This, of course, makes it difficult to describe the dimensions of the problem of non-participation.

The growing interest and efforts in the area of adult education give rise to some hope for improvement over the coming years. There is, for instance, a number of studies on the needs that are expected to be filled by the adult education sector. At the same time data collection on existing opportunities is being improved.

The Danish National Institute of Social Research has analysed the widening gap in education on the basis of calculations made in 1972 - the year after the law stipulating compulsory nine years' basic education for everybody was introduced. The Institute found that 74 per cent of the population between 20-64 had less than nine years of education.

II. THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

Education is regarded at the present time as a recurring feature in a person's life. A part of the population - usually those with more than average education - has realised this and takes an active part in various forms of education. This contributes to widen the gap between the well-educated and the poorly-educated population. More and more become underprivileged in terms of education and a group of "educational losers" is developing.

A large number of people do not, however, express a need for adult education. Likewise, many people who admit a need for education and a group of "educational losers" is developing.

Table 1

THE DANISH POPULATION BETWEEN 20-64 IN 1972

Age group	Number of Years of Education			
	Less than 9 years	9 - 12 years	12 years or more	Total
	%	%	%	%
20-24	42	43	15	100
25-29	56	34	10	100
30-34	70	23	7	100
35-39	78	19	3	100
40-44	78	18	4	100
45-49	79	19	2	100
50-54	86	12	2	100
55-59	89	8	3	100
60-64	88	10	2	100
20-64	74	21	5	100

The Danish National Institute of Social Research also established that 47 per cent of the population between 20-64 have no vocational education and that the figure for the group over 40 years of age is 56 per cent.

Table 2

THE DANISH POPULATION BETWEEN 20-64
BY TYPE OF EDUCATION, IN 1972

Age groups	Education at university or similar level	Other theoretical education	Vocational education	No. training	Total
	%	%	%	%	%
20-24	8	14	47	30	101
25-29	4	14	50	32	100
30-34	3	12	47	37	99
35-39	4	12	47	37	100
40-44	2	9	39	51	101
45-49	2	5	37	57	101
50-54	3	8	37	53	101
55-59	1	5	29	65	100
60-64	1	6	37	56	100
20-64	3	4	45	47	99

In accordance with this division of adult education into different groups, the importance of the problem of non-participation must be considered. For we see that the nature and size of the problem is different according to the particular area of education set by society or the age group seeking education. In this regard, the principle of educational equality must be mentioned as one of the objects, politically speaking, that has more or less been a general aim of adult education.

A large number of people do not, however, express a need for adult education. Likewise, many people who admit a need for education run into diverse obstacles against continuing their education. These obstacles can be divided into three main groups:

i) The Character of Educational Opportunities

- Difficulties in surveying the types of courses, organisers (it is characteristic of Danish adult education that private organisations and groups are allowed to organise adult education), objectives of education, and lack of data.
- Lack of motivating, guiding and introductory activities.
- The education is not planned according to the learning abilities and needs of adults (teachers, curricula, working methods, timing and materials).
- Uneven regional distribution of educational possibilities. Onesidedness in the offers in many areas.

ii) The Situation in Society and the Environment

- Weak or no motivation for education within certain environments (resistance to learning).
- The size of the costs combined with no or little economic assistance.
- Lack of service facilities such as child care (day-care centres, kindergartens), transportation, and eating facilities (cafeterias, canteens) in non-residential institutes for participants and their families.
- The resistance towards change by the local or the central administration as well as professional organisation.

iii) Attitude and Background of the Individual

- The feeling of not being qualified to start an education.
- Uncertainty about the process of learning and lack of knowledge about study techniques and group dynamics.
- Inadequate information about educational offers, alternatives, requirements, and competences.
- Outside demands and problems such as the family, the care of the children, unsatisfactory conditions for preparation, or fear of being indispensable at home or at work.

These conditions (no feeling of an educational need as well as obstacles in meeting an admitted need) usually affect those who are poorly equipped educationally, people who perhaps have the greatest need for some kind of adult education.

III. THE "CULTURAL" BARRIER

The lack of or poor motivation of many people is studied by Bent Bøgh Andersen in Study No. 21 by the Danish National Institute for Social Research: "Aspects of the 'cultural' barrier for those seeking education". The study was made in 1968 and included 3,000 schoolchildren in grade 7 (about 14 years old).

This study puts forward some of the factors which make up part of the so-called "cultural" barrier for those seeking education, i.e. various attitudes not necessarily towards educating oneself but attitudes to important conditions in life. A decisive conflict can arise in the education situation when groups from differing environments with different attitudes come together. Among these attitudes is that toward time (to consider the future), competition, conformity (to be like everybody else), work (to be engaged in one's work), and solidarity.

These attitudes are important in a society like the Danish one and they are often expressed in the primary school. Among the attitudes discussed in the study the attitudes toward work, competition, and time are the most important as to whether one continues a longer school "life" after grade 7 (14 years old).

The question is whether the results of this study can be transferred directly to adults. Similar studies on the adult population are not available but it would appear that the same barriers prevent adults from participating in further education.

IV. CULTURE AND EDUCATION

An "integral education system" in Danish tradition and interpretation does not mean an established and centrally directed system. It means a continuing education system and the necessary connection of this system to the cultural world.

By "education" most people mean communication of facts, languages, mathematics, technical and economic subjects and so on, perhaps including some artistic subjects. Education in the Danish tradition includes areas such as personal development, social conditions, and needs for human friendship, knowledge of the functions of society, moral standards, etc. Though the most important mechanisms behind the accelerating development of the society are of technological and economic nature, such a development creates completely new demands for the individual, influencing his life, his actions and his experience.

The adults' need for education, personal development, and community living must, therefore, be looked at together. Cultural activity is one of the strongest motivating forces for adults to involve themselves in a direct educational activity. Also, the high level of general education and tradition in Denmark helps to make it possible to break down the barriers between participants and non-participants. At the same time it must be assumed that the lower income groups - often disillusioned and with dislike or resentment against education - are comparatively small and that, in fact, other groups of non-participants who might participate in special circumstances must be considered the largest.

V. NON-PARTICIPANTS

Two main groups of non-participants exist. The following discussion concentrates on the "reachable" non-participants.

In 1971 a survey was carried out of non-participants in a highly industrialised area (Frederiksborg Amts Kommune, north of Copenhagen). The survey was a spot test made among a representative cross-section of the population between 16-60 years of age (over 5,000 persons or 3.25 per cent of the population surveyed). The survey studied only the need for basic education or diploma course.

It was found that approximately 5 per cent of the tested group had a wish to participate in some form of alternative education. This corresponded with the number of children in grades 1 to 3. 73 per cent of the non-participants wanted ISCED II education and the rest, 27 per cent, wanted ISCED III education.

A similar survey based on a smaller sample (1,500 persons or 6.4 per cent of the population surveyed) completed in 1972 in a slightly industrialised area (then Tønder Amt) showed almost the same trend: 76 per cent wanted ISCED II education, 24 per cent wanted ISCED III education.

The survey in Frederiksborg also gave a considerable amount of information about the reachable non-participants. They are distributed (see Table 3) according to occupation comparing the distribution of each occupational group in the total population of Denmark with that of the region surveyed (Frederiksborg).

The great need for adult education among skilled workers (mainly for mathematics, physics, and chemistry) is obvious. The number of reachable non-participants in the groups of self-employed and unskilled workers is much lower when their share of the population is considered.

Table 3

PERSONS 15-60 YEARS OF AGE DISTRIBUTED ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION 1970

	Total Country (1)	Frederiksborg Amt	
		Total population (1)	Reachable non-participants (2)
	%	%	%
Self-employed	10	10	3
Salary employees/ public servants	30	25	28
Skilled workers	9	10	23
Unskilled workers	16	18	12
Unemployed and domestic workers	35	37	34
Total	99	100	100

1) Source: Statistical News No. 28, 1971.

2) Source: Frederiksborg Survey 1971, Lars Th. Bjørn.

Table 4

REACHABLE NON-PARTICIPANTS FOR ISCED II & III EDUCATION DISTRIBUTED ACCORDING TO AGE

Frederiksborg Survey 1971

Age	ISCED II	ISCED III	ISCED II & III	Total reachable female non-participants
	%	%	%	%
15-19	6	23	11	52
20-24	26	22	25	50
25-29	20	22	21	61
30-34	14	7	12	58
35-39	10	10	10	54
40-44	9	9	9	56
45-49	6	3	6	74
50-54	5	2	3	82
55-59	2	1	2	100
Not specified	1	1	1	100
Total	100	100	100	

Table 5

REACHABLE NON-PARTICIPANTS FOR ISCED II & III EDUCATION, DISTRIBUTED ACCORDING TO SEX AND AGE

Frederiksborg Survey 1971

Age	ISCED II		ISCED III		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
	%	%	%	%	%
15-19	22	21	24	32	100
20-24	41	36	9	14	100
25-29	34	39	6	21	100
30-34	38	46	4	12	100
35-39	34	39	12	15	100
40-44	33	39	11	17	100
45-49	22	61	4	13	100
50-54	17	71	-	12	100
55-59	-	83	-	17	100
Not specified	-	75	-	25	100

Table 6

TIME OF DAY REACHABLE NON-PARTICIPANTS WANT EDUCATION

Frederiksborg Survey 1971

	Daytime	Evening	No answer	Total
	%	%	%	%
ISCED II education				
Women	43	52	5	100
Men	14	76	10	100
Total average	30	62	8	100
ISCED III education				
Women	45	54	1	100
Men	40	47	13	100
Total average	43	50	7	100

VI. THE NEED FOR IN-SERVICE TRAINING

There are at present some very interesting surveys taking place within the area of vocational training. One of these undertaken by

David Bunnage for the Danish National Institute for Social Research, published in May 1974, was carried out among 666 workers at large factories.

One interesting question among others is that about expected further training for the non-participating workers. The study shows that 12 per cent of the workers want to get further training in the present job. While the foremen - who also have the authority to recommend the workers for training - think that 14 per cent ought to receive further training. However, only 4 per cent of these responses are overlapping, i.e. workers/foremen at the same place of work.

The survey also underlines the fact that people in more complex jobs have a greater need for further training, whereas those in less complex jobs have less need although they often feel that they do not use their abilities to the full.

VII. NEW SUBJECTS IN JOB TRAINING

In connection with the preparation for the Third World Conference on Adult Education held in Tokyo in 1972, a number of arrangements were made with participants from various adult education fields. This preparation contributed to a greater understanding among adult education organisers of the problems surrounding non-participants. It was agreed that in order to reach non-participants it was essential to look not only at provision of educational activities but also at the attitudes of the individual towards culture activity and social engagement, since these determine the level of education wanted.

For instance, courses in general education have been experimentally carried out with a view to changing the attitudes of "weakly motivated" groups towards education. One of the best analysed of these experiments was carried out in schools for semi-skilled workers, by the Ministry of Labour. These schools are already attended by the lowest educated group of the population (55 per cent of participants have a maximum of seven years' education). The results from these educational experiments are positive, showing an added interest in adult education on the whole.(1)

VIII. UNCONVENTIONAL METHODS

One of the main principles of adult education in Denmark is the right of private groups or organisations to arrange education. It

---

1) Source: Institute for Technology: "Report on the adaptation of general subjects to the education of semi-skilled workers", 1973.

is therefore difficult to promote special unconventional methods for reaching the non-participants. Methods that are quite natural in one environment are considered unorthodox in another.

Generally speaking, greater interest in widening participation to include new groups of the population has been shown among adult educational organisers. The government has also supported various activities toward this end, for instance:

1. Issuing of publicity and information materials (evening schools, education groups, education of labour market);
2. Establishing information offices (folk high schools and youth high schools);
3. Publishing films, tapes, etc. (schools for semi-skilled workers and the youth schools);
4. Activities within the labour movement and the womens' organisations.
5. School information programmes on radio and television,
6. Combinations of education in radio/TV and correspondence schools or study groups;
7. The activities of the public libraries;
8. More personnel for guidance and advisory projects;
9. Activities among national service men.

IX. ADULT EDUCATION FOR EVERY YOUNG MAN

A definite attempt to reach the widest possible part of the population was made in the period 1952-1972 when general adult education for all servicemen was established under the Ministry of Defence. Every young man got compulsory education on contemporary subjects 3-4 hours a week during his military service. Broad information about the educational possibilities in the society was also given. The soldiers were also offered:

- special education for reading, spelling and speech impediments;
- correspondence courses.

This form of civic adult education was for economic reasons stopped in 1972. Responsibility was then placed upon the soldiers' own representative. Three-hour courses were provided to give information and guidance regarding education, training, and job opportunities after military service. This special form of activity by the representative depends, of course, completely on his interest in helping his fellow soldiers and the individual military unit's positive attitude towards the future of their men after military service.

As counsellors for this advisory activity, the representatives are aided by:

- the military contact and welfare officers;
- guidance counsellors from the official vocational guidance offices.

This is a completely new method which after almost a year seems to work satisfactorily and assures many young men of a quick and effective contact with an educational institute or training centre after military service.

X. FUTURE POLICY DEVELOPMENT

It is quite clear that in the near future important political decisions regarding adult education in Denmark will be taken, including those concerned with the problems of the non-participants.

Technological and social changes in Danish society make it necessary to find a new way of thinking and new attitudes towards the traditions of the education system. A move should be made away from the question "What am I going to be?" towards the question "What am I going to learn?".

In December 1972 a discussion about adult education took place in the Folketing and the then Minister of Education, Knud Heinesen, said among other things that:

- adult education must in future cover a wide range of objectives. So far, it has been shown to contain special possibilities that may form the dynamic element of the education system;
- adult education must not be a copy of "first time education" but in terms of subjects and methods must live up to the demands, problems, and duties with which adults are confronted;
- the relationship of adult education with more general cultural work and social service must be emphasized;
- adult education must find ways and methods to reach the "forgotten" - those people who did not get the chance for sufficient education and cultural enrichment or who - for one reason or another - did not use it.

These points of view were backed by all political parties and it was agreed to try to do more for non-participants.

During the educational debate which took place in the Folketing on 25th April, 1974, the former parties agreed on a change in the distribution of economic resources within the education sector. Ritt Bjerregaard, former Minister of Education, agreed with the then Minister of Education, Tove Nielsen, that:

- Considering the population's level of general education, it is important that priority be given to:

1. Primary schooling
2. Youth education
3. Adult education.

It is thus reasonable to believe that when all material gathered throughout the years on the problems of non-participants is analysed, it will form the basis for policy decisions in the field of adult education.

NOTE

Mention is made throughout this document of the ISCED (International Standard Classification of Education), which is a list of references, developed by the Statistical Section of UNESCO on levels of education, divided as follows:

0 - Education preceding the first level
1 - Education at the first level
2 - Education at the second level, first stage
3 - Education at the second level, second stage
5 - Education at the third level, first stage of the type that leads to an award not equivalent to a first university degree
6 - Education at the third level, first stage, of the type that leads to a first university degree or equivalent
7 - Education at the third level, second stage, of the type that leads to a post-graduate university degree or equivalent
9 - Education not definable by level (i.e. much of adult education).

FRANCE

by

Joseph Rovan

OBSTACLES AND RESISTANCE TO ADULT EDUCATION

Teachers, educators, trainers and group leaders entering adult education as professional or semi-professional (part-time) staff or as volunteers sooner or later encounter what is for them the scandalous phenomenon of non-participation: only a small percentage varying according to cases and circumstances, of the theoretically total public, i.e. all adults living in a given society, actually take part in adult educational activities. People working in adult education can never bring themselves to accept this fact as other than scandalous.

Educators often elaborate an ethic of education in which non-participation in educational activities is regarded as immoral. The socio-geographical location of this immorality may be society (or certain parts of society), which puts obstacles in the way of the adults' theoretical or real desires. The need for adult education is so obvious to the adult educator that the absence of a part of the public can only be due to ignorance fostered by inadequacy of facilities and/or the malevolence of some people. Like Luther wishing to replace an ill-informed Pope by a Pope open to information, the adult educator wishes to replace the ill-informed adult by the adult open to information and a contemporary society which does not take enough interest in adult education by a society which must be changed in order to take more interest in it.

This attitude is far from being entirely wrong, but in its turn it illuminates only part of the truth. People in adult education must admit, if they do not want to be reproached with exercising a sort of "para-education terrorism", that adult men and women may, without being the victims or ignorance or "misapprehension", consider that they are sufficiently "educated" or trained for their own needs and those of society; that they have sufficient facilities for thought, information and training, that their existence is sufficiently rich and balanced, and that their internal, professional and social progress is fed by achievements which do not come from adult educational or training activities. Men and women may legitimately consider that the meaning of their lives is not linked with the acquisition of new knowledge or new know-how as instruments of new powers and new forms of domination over man or matter. It all depends what we mean by "legitimate", according to principles and beliefs which precede and guide our convictions and our actions. It seems essential that "adult educators" should reveal to themselves and to others the principles and beliefs underlying their actions. Our expectations regarding the kind of public we should like to assemble, or at least to reach, derive more from our ideology than from any real knowledge and recognition of a public in its difference from ourselves. "Adult educators" should in my opinion accept that a distinction has to be made between deliberate, conscious and justified non-participation and involuntary, passive non-participation which is due to ignorance and therefore unjustified. But in stating this idea with the help of the verb "should", I am myself expressing a belief, a conviction and an ethic which I am trying to impose on others. Any thought and any action, and especially any educational thought and action, are "terrorist" and "authoritarian", and this fearful aspect can only be controlled by a constant dialectic effort to offset it by its opposite. The educator is someone who moves dialectically between recognition of the otherness of others, which means doing away with it. The order in the Gospel: "compel them to come in!" ("compelle entrare"), reflects both an educational necessity and the scandal of all education. I therefore plead that we should not automatically regard the refusal to participate as something abnormal and unacceptable which has to be overcome. Refusal of adult education is one of the human rights of the adult. The right to ignorance deserves as much respect as the right to sloth (Lafargue), but I agree that this assertion must be dialectically completed by its opposite. Each statement taken in isolation would be both true and false, operational and totalitarian.

These assertions are not put forward here for philosophical reasons or for the pleasure of stating paradoxes. They point to an attitude of educational modesty on the part of "adult educators" and a constant adjustment of activities and curricula to situations and centres of interest, even those which are least formally educational. They imply that "adult educators" must be available to support, help and accompany leisure and recreation activities, sports and entertainment as well as teaching and training activities (whose content should itself include the whole range of human activities and knowledge which can be learnt). They imply acceptance of all motivations (those which are individual and even "self-centred" - at least in appearance - as well as social and extrovert motivations) other than those which are regarded as frankly and clearly unhealthy, morbid and unacceptable by almost all members of a society. You will have recognised, incidentally, the charge of dynamite, censure, totalitarianism and intolerance contained in the above remarks. Obviously, all the terminologies used assume a minimum of social and intellectual consensuses which it is less and less easy to take for granted in the societies of the last quarter of the 20th century. Acceptance of these ideas is often made difficult in its turn by the terminology. My argument also implies that there is no difference of value and merit between the various intellectual, scientific, sports and artistic activities which interest adults and that there is no difference of value and merit, in principle, between the individual and collective desires or needs of the micro-community or the macro-community, of the family or the nation. Distinctions must be made in the light of situations and means, but not in the light of first principles. Collective advancement is not morally or ethically more worthy than individual advancement.

To sum up in a few - naturally extreme - statements this first part of my considerations, I shall say:

1. The right of adults not to take part in adult educational activities should be recognised.
2. The equal merits of all activities, all desires and needs, and all motivations should be recognised.
3. Recognition of point 2 will reduce the number of those invoking the right recognised in point 1.

In other words, the less one-track and one-way adult education becomes, the less it is exclusively or essentially formal, didactic and focused on the transmission of knowledge and know-how, the less it is exclusively training and the more it includes leadership, the less it is exclusively or essentially concentrated on collective advancement and social change, the better able it will be to make itself useful also to those who do not at present feel interested in what it offers.

Turning now to the specific obstacles which present participation in adult educational activities by people who would in principle be likely, able and even eager to take part, I make no attempt to review all these obstacles. The scope of the present report is too limited for such an ambition. I shall merely give a non-systematic account of a few special obstacles which I feel are important from the French standpoint. It is of course obvious that all the unsolved problems (i.e. all the problems) of adult education (lack of money, shortage of skilled staff, absence of appropriate legislation on study leave, etc.) should appear on the list of obstacles. What follows is therefore neither exhaustive nor systematic.

The adult educational activities available in each national context differ, but they are assumed to exist. I shall not discuss the obstacle created by their inadequacy since the argument might be never-ending. But I do think it possible to mention the obstacle represented by the inadequacy of the information on what is available. In France, at least, activities are extremely dispersed and offered by a considerable number of agents working separately, while the information and publicity facilities put at their disposal are quite inadequate; many of these activities flourish in a kind of semi-clandestinity. Most agents organise their own publicity system within an extremely small context; the limited means of dissemination are thus inefficiently used in parallel competitive action, and the vast majority of the population is not reached. It seems essential in a case such as ours to devote thought and resources to improving the co-ordination of information and to using modern mass communication media for information, dissemination and publicity. Problems obviously arise at local and regional levels as well as at national level. They are particularly great in large or very large cities where the inhabitants are extremely isolated from each other.

Still leaving aside the problems of the content of supply, I feel it necessary to stress the need to provide the potential members of the adult education public not only with broader and more modern information services but also with counselling and guiance services. It is not enough for activities to be presented and disseminated; everyone must also be able effectively to choose what suits his desires and needs, and this means that the "counsellors" must be able to get people to express desires and needs which are often concealed by socio-psychological forms of censorship.

Another major obstacle to greater participation in adult educational activities is presented by the inadequacy of the legislation or regulations or other arrangements concerning leave of absence and the remuneration paid (or rather not paid, or paid to an insufficient extent) to wage-earners and similar staff (such as civil servants). In France, this more especially concerns activities not included in initial or continuing adult vocational training, which is largely covered by the 1971 legislation. The introduction of "leave for cultural or socio-cultural training" for family education, civic education and training for leisure-time and artistic activities seems absolutely essential if adult education is to be prevented from splitting into a developed sector geared to the needs of the economy and an under-developed sector which includes everything relating to other spheres of life. A similar remark is called for with regard to the situation of many adults who cannot be classified as wage-earners: i.e. mainly housewives and retired people. Special legislation providing them with similar aids to those which should be available to wage-earners for "cultural leave" is an absolute necessity.

Staffing problems create an undoubted bottleneck in France. There is a known shortage of specialist teachers, instructors and group leaders for adults, whether full-time or part-time professional or voluntary or unpaid staff. Staffing raises unanswered problems as regards training (initial and continuing), recruitment, careers, the employment market and conditions of employment. The civil service statutes and the collective agreements for private wage-earners must allow staff from other occupations to devote part of their working time, either in full alternation or in parallel, to staffing activities (teaching, training, leadership) in adult education. A model might be taken, by way of analogy, from the statute for associate teachers in higher education, existing in France since 1968. Obviously, such reforms would be inadequate without a considerable increase in the financial resources for schools and other teacher-training institutions both for the remuneration of staff and for equipment and operating expenses. The existing French law on socio-educational facilities should be completely reviewed in the light of these needs.

In my opinion, the obstacles to participation in France also include the problems of language and expression and the techniques and instruments of intellectual work. Many people who might take part in adult educational activities are discouraged in advance by their conviction that they are incapable of participating because their capacities of self-expression (both oral and written), formulation and understanding are underdeveloped because they have no training in the intellectual work involved in any effort of learning. In principle, therefore, it is necessary to increase the supply (and information about that supply) of activities which help to develop the capacities of understanding the spoken and written language, the capacities of self-expression and learning the techniques of learning. Such activities should precede any specific activity of transmitting knowledge or know-how or should always be included in any specific activities.

Obviously, these suggestions are also of particularly urgent and vital concern to immigrants who do not know the language (and the technical, technological and scientific languages) of their host country, as well as the members of national minorities who have their own local language. It is also necessary when considering this subject to include in the definition of words such as "language", "self-expression", "understanding" or "reading" not only the spoken and written word by also picture and sound (other than the spoken word). Picture and sound are languages which must be "read" and "heard"; training in self-expression should extend to all forms of language.

Reflecting on the major obstacles to participation, we inevitably meet the reaction of repulsion which the imperfect and often archaic operation of education ("the school") produces in many adults confronted with the idea of once again becoming the "objects" of educational activities; at the same time these people often regard as non-valid and discriminatory forms and methods of education and training which do not keep within the authoritarian and directive school framework that they hate but which they have felt obliged to regard as the pattern for any social betterment. Nor should the idea be overlooked that the good sense of the "customers" of adult education comprises both criticism of the school and criticism of the critics, rejecting the totalitarian dogma of the "deschooling" ideology as well as the reactionary and stultifying preservation of the old institutional system of education. It is therefore important that the presentation of activities to "future customers" and the language used in written material or by the people who are in contact with these "customers" (the "recruiters") should avoid anything that gives the impression that the activities concerned are similar or analogous to those they knew in school; but it is also important that activities should then be really different, through their environment (premises, seating and table arrangements), timetables, relationships between instructors and participants, and the use of psycho-sociological methods and audio-visual media - yet without letting participants feel that they are getting the "benefit" of an "education on the cheap".

It is impossible in this context to avoid mentioning the problem of the rewards and benefits which participants may obtain from the activities in which they have taken part. In the case of wage-earners in particular, it is essential that participation should lead to an improvement in their qualifications enabling them to obtain higher pay and/or occupational promotion. In many cases, adult educational activities do not provide any certainty or guarantee in this respect and such certainty cannot conceivably be guaranteed to all participants following all adult educational activities. It is nonetheless true that legislation and agreements between the "social partners" should extend the field of these benefits and that activities should consequently often be designed in association with the representative labour organisations and with associations of employers, public services and private enterprises. When subject and recruitment are appropriate, it also seems essential that activities should lead to the award of "capitalisable credit" certificates.

From what has just been said, it is possible that many would-be participants would like their participation not to be systematically one-way. This is evidently a very difficult problems to solve, but it should not be evaded. It may be tackled along two lines:

1. By associating participants with the preparation of curricula and the conducts of activities;
2. By endeavouring either to use participants' abilities and know-how in the activities in which they are going to take part or by using participants as instructors or leaders in other activities.

That this idea is Utopian in part should not let us forget that it is also realistic in part.

These few remarks are manifestly insufficient, unsystematic and fragmentary; they merely claim to recall a few lines of approach and are only the improvisations of an observer. Broader and more systematic efforts should be devoted to studying the obstacles to participation in adult educational activities; such studies should be both scientific and operational and procure results which can be translated into policies and strategies. Financial resources should be found for such studies.

ITALY

by

Anna Lorenzetto

I. PARTICIPATION AND THE ADULT EDUCATION ASSOCIATIONS

The adult education associations

At the end of the last war a new democratic regime was set up in Italy after 20 years of Fascism. The watchword of the new regime was "participation". From 1945 onwards this concept began to spread through all sections of the community: participation in politics through the various parties; participation in labour problems via trade union action; participation in educational issues through public debates and nation-wide campaigns.

This period witnessed the foundation of the adult education associations e.g. the Social Guidance Centres, the "Comunità" Movement, the National Union to Combat Illiteracy, the Civic Co-operation movement, etc.

The Social Guidance Centres (Centri d'Orientamento Sociale)

The Social Guidance Centres were founded in 1944 by Aldo Capitini at Peruggia in central Italy. Their ideal was "the decentralisation of authority to replace coercive legislation by self-determination". The link between Capitini's ideals and the "Risorgimento" tradition of Mazzini and Salvemini, Gobetti and the Rosselli brothers is quite obvious. But the Social Guidance Centres were not destined to have a long career. The political radicalisation which followed the elections of 1948 made it impossible in the early 50s to initiate the nation-wide dialogue which had been advocated by Capitini and could only have been possible in the atmosphere of a liberation struggle.

The "Comunità" Movement

The first experiments launched by the "Comunità" (Community) Movement founded at Ivrea by Olivetti go back to 1948.

Olivetti took over the community principles put forward by Jacques Maritain and Emmanuel Mounier but wished to give their theory greater political and social force. His main preoccupations were the cost of industrial organisation in human terms, the relationship between the industrial and the rural communities, planning, urbanisation policy, the decentralisation of government and the organisation of vocational training.

The Community Movement lost its homogeneity and strictly democratic approach when it began to spread throughout Italy, and finally came to grief in the socially and economically backward environments of southern Italy.

National Union to Combat Illiteracy (Unione nazionale per la lotta contro l'analfabetismo)

The Union was founded in Rome in December 1947 by a small group of philosophy teachers and was the first Italian association to be recognised by UNESCO in connection with its associated projects. The Union is recognised as a non-profit-making organisation by the Italian Government. In 1959 it was awarded the international Feltrinelli prize and in 1968 its activities were sponsored by an Act of Parliament.

The movement actually arose out of a drive to conquer illiteracy in Lucania, initiated in 1947 by local mayors, teachers and labour unions. In three months 10,000 illiterate adults (out of 500,000 inhabitants) were put to school. The Ministry of Education was forced by this popular movement into sponsoring a large number of classes for illiterates in addition to those voluntarily organised. The following year the government took over the scheme, bureaucratised it and eliminated the labour union representatives. The movement therefore changed its method and in 1969 set up the first Popular Education Centres as permanent bodies for adult education. Apart from their work to eliminate illiteracy and promote adult education, the Centres ran classes in civics, public health, agricultural training, general vocational training, general culture, etc.

The Centres brought a new type of adult education to the poorest and most remote townships of southern Italy and completely revolutionised the struggle against illiteracy by linking it to continuous education. They integrated the different levels of adult education with vocational civic and public health training, and really geared the popular education centres to the needs of the public. Each Centre was democratically administered by joint teacher/worker committees, but ultimate decisions were taken by its council, consisting of the workers only.

Civic Co-operation Movement (Movimento di collaborazione civile)

The Civic Co-operation Movement was launched in the immediate post-war years to encourage citizens to exercise their civic responsibilities. Up to about 1955 the Movement concerned itself with training groups of student volunteers to run one of the country's first social centres in Rome. After a period of stagnation the Movement definitely turned its attention in 1960 to local problems in southern Italy and helped to run the Educational Service Centres in co-operation with the "Fund" for southern Italy.

National Association for Assistance to Southern Italy (Associazione Nazionale per gli Interessi del Mezzogiorno d'Italia)

The Association was founded in 1910 after the disastrous Messina earthquake of 1908. Amongst other activities it set up the first Montessori kindergartens in southern Italy. In 1921 the Ministry of Education made the Association responsible for running evening classes and day schools for adult workers as part of the campaign against illiteracy.

The Association had begun by setting up its own "economic services" based on the principle that educational problems could best be handled by teaching the underlying economic problems. After the last war the Association gave up its work on illiteracy and returned to the administration of kindergartens.

The Humanitarian Society (Società Umanitaria) of Milan founded in 1893, was initially concerned with unemployed persons, emigrants and vocational training. Its work was almost completely brought to a standstill under the Fascist regime but in 1945 it was able to resume its activities and recover its confiscated property.

II. PARTICIPATION AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

Community projects

The community development projects were a feature of the decade from 1955 to 1965 and included the "Comunità" scheme in the Ivrea region, the CECA project (Castelfranco, Venetia), the Shell project (Borgo Mozzano), the Sardinia project (launched by the OEEC), the Research and Action Centres in Western Sicily, the Development Centre of Palma de Montechiaro and the Molise and Avigliano projects. The two most important schemes were the Sardinia project and the Centre for Research and Action in Western Sicily.

Sardinia Project

The Sardinia Project was started in 1958 and officially terminated in 1962. It was the intention of the promoting organisation (the OEEC, later the OECD) to relate the Project to a broader plan for the development of productivity in Member countries. An area of about 180,000 hectares was selected in the central part of western Sardinia and the project was organised around three technical services (agricultural advice; rural domestic economy and craft industries; light industry) and three other social and educational services i.e. adult education, welfare and audio-visual media.

Despite its practical nature, one of the difficulties of the Project, which contributed to weaken its general impact, was that neither its individual nor its overall objectives were defined. Nevertheless, it yielded a number of practical results particularly in the crafts sector where it was welcomed by the public, especially in areas where there was already a socio-educational movement.

Centre for Research and Action to Promote Full Employment (Centro Studie Iniziative per la Piena Occupazione)

Conditions in western Sicily and even in Palermo as revealed by Danilo Dolci led to the foundation of the Centre for Research and Action to Promote Full Employment (1957-58).

The concept of full employment on which Dolci's organisation was based was not exclusively economic. Unemployment (and under-employment), particularly in rural areas was seen as part of a wider problem, i.e. the problem of wastage in the fullest sense of the word, i.e. natural, material, human and social resources.

Six centres for full employment were set up, some of which proved to be short-lived. But the most important achievement was to mobilise the local authorities and population to tackle a particular task e.g. the construction of the Iato dam near Partinico in 1962 which aroused interest throughout the country.

Dolci's movement, despite appearances, never had a solid popular basis in the area owing to the essential ambiguity of its motivations and methods and the Centre declined after 1965.

III. STATE INTERVENTION AND ADULT EDUCATION

Normal State intervention

Normal State intervention in adult education in Italy is reflected in the legislation of December 1947 which set up "People's Schools", designed to eliminate illiteracy, supplement primary education and promote vocational training.

However, the basic conceptions of these schools was somewhat outdated as they failed to relate the elimination of illiteracy to the worker's occupation and environment. The acquisition of literacy was not accompanied by the incentive of better job prospects.

In the field of popular education there has always been a cleavage between State intervention represented by the Ministry of Education and the activity of private associations. While the former is centralised, bureaucratic and scholastic the latter is often characterised by its bold and often revolutionary innovations.

Special State intervention (the Fund for Southern Italy)

In 1959, nine years after the foundation of the Fund for Southern Italy, the government made the Fund responsible for promoting and financing special social and educational schemes throughout southern Italy.

In an effort to bridge the growing gap between infrastructure investment and human investment, the Fund decided to give direct support to the private associations in the field of adult education and social services.

In 1965 a four-point co-ordinating plan was put through Parliament covering (1) the promotion of education (2) the improvement of basic social services (3) social action in connection with vocational technical training (4) assistance to emigrants. The new policy represented a break with the past in the sense that government intervention in the social and educational fields was henceforth to be based on the idea of greater civic awareness and fuller participation.

However, the two approaches i.e. special government action (the Fund) and private action (institutions and associations) were not destined to converge, as had been hoped. The Fund decided to set up about 60 new bodies known as "Educational Service Centres" which were given substantial allocations and provided with good libraries and other facilities. But the associations which had acquired considerable experience in the field of adult education were not assigned the responsibility and autonomy to which their qualifications and experience entitled them.

Because of the restrictive and tendentious nature of State intervention there is practically no independent activity in the field of adult education in Italy at the present time, with the sole exception of the Popular Education Centres run on inadequate funds by the National Union to Combat Illiteracy.

IV. NON-PARTICIPATION AND ADULT EDUCATION

The educational situation in Italy

The preliminary figures for adult education which emerged from the December 1971 census of the Institute of Statistics are disquieting.

The population above the age of six is divided into the following educational categories: university graduates: 877,086 (1.8 per cent); persons with a high-school education: 3,377,319 (6.9 per cent); persons holding the lower secondary school certificate (falling within the period of compulsory education): 7,210,296 (14.9 per cent); holders of the primary school certificate (the first five classes falling within the period of compulsory education) 21,366,392 (44.1 per cent). The number of persons without any educational qualifications amounts to 15,650,575 of whom 13,121,110 (27 per cent) are literate and 2,529,465 (5.2 per cent) illiterate. The term literate applies to persons who have had primary schooling but did not obtain the certificate awarded at the end of their fifth year to pupils who successfully work through the curriculum. This may have been due to the poverty of their parents, their remoteness from an educational centre or the fact that only a village school was available to them (these schools do not offer more than the first three classes of the primary cycle). The illiterate members of the community have had no schooling.

Over 76 per cent of the total population of Italy have no certificate of compulsory schooling. Industry, agriculture and the tertiary sector consequently operate with a labour force of four million illiterates and semi-literates.

The term "non participation" therefore applies to a broad stratum representing virtually 76 per cent of the public.

It is important to note that this high percentage is largely due to a simple fact. The school-leaving age was only raised to 14 in 1962 when the five-year primary school cycle was extended by a further three years at a junior secondary school. But the exigencies of economic and social development call for the raising of the school-leaving age to 16 in line with the legislation in force in the other countries of the European Economic Community.

The non-participation crisis and adult-education

The situation at all levels and of adult education whether official, private or semi-official has now reached a stage of unexampled crisis. The only bodies at present operating in the field of adult education since the breakdown of the various community development projects in 1965 are (a) the Ministry of Education acting through the legislation on "People's Schools"; (b) the Fund for Southern Italy and its Educational Service Centres run by private associations; (c) the Popular Education Centres run by the National Union to Combat Illiteracy; (d) local educational groups e.g. the Salvemini clubs, the People's Universities, the local educational clubs.

Yet despite this apparent stagnation, a number of developments are taking place which, from the standpoint of participation, promise to be revolutionary (in the Regions and the labour unions, and as regards the legal status of teachers in the State educational system).

The Ministry of Education and the Social Centres for Continuing Education

The Social Centres for Continuing Education undoubtedly represent the most far-ranging scheme yet developed out of the legislation of December 1947 on "People's Schools". The scheme was still at the experimental stage from 1970 to 1973 but about 1,200 Centres had been set up by the end of 1973.

The Social Centres for Continuing Education are, however, run on rigidly traditional lines. The practical content of their courses for illiterate and semi-illiterate workers is increasingly inadequate and the organisers of the courses and managers of the Centres are ill-prepared for adult education work. Their resources are slender, their equipment insufficient and any initiative on the part of the Ministry is limited by red tape. Admittedly, these shortcomings are often made good by the keenness of the teachers. But the fact that the Ministry does not provide for any form of democratic management or any opportunity of joint control by the adult trainees and their teachers practically institutionalises non-participation.

However, Parliament is now considering a Bill to amend the legislation on "People's Schools" so as to give the Schools a more flexible structure, ensure greater co-operation with the adult education associations and enable the adult trainees to participate in their management. Steps have also been taken to give an established status to adult educators and the managers of the Social Centres for Continuing Education.

In November 1973 a series of television broadcasts was organised. These are designed for young people and adults attending all types of adult education courses. The subjects chosen for the first cycle were economics, art and history.

Educational Service Centres

In December 1971 the Minister responsible for the Fund for Southern Italy transferred the Educational Service Centres (about 90, in southern Italy) from the tutelage of the various private associations operating under the Fund to the respective regions concerned.

It is uncertain at the present time whether the regions of southern Italy intend to continue the Fund's conservative policy, or whether their own policy will be a more progressive one, in line with the policy of the National Union to Combat Illiteracy, the Civic Co-operation Movement and the Humanitarian Society and geared to the needs of the population.

The Popular Education Centres

Although still supported by the legislation of 1968, these Centres are today in a state of crisis. This is due to the large-scale population drain from many areas of southern Italy, the slender resources available to the Centres (slightly over 1 million lire per year for each Centre) compared with their enormous potential tasks, the mass communications explosion, the economic and educational problems of the population, particularly women and children, and the failure of the Centres to participate in the social and educational changes now taking place in southern Italy.

V. NEW TRENDS IN PARTICIPATION

The Unions

A great blow was struck in 1973 when the Metal Workers' Union won the right to 150 hours of paid educational leave for all its members. The leave is normally spread over three years but may be entirely utilised in a single year. The workers participating are required to produce a certificate showing that they have attended an educational establishment for twice as many hours as the number of hours of paid leave granted to them.

This achievement by the metal workers may be matched with another union victory. The metal workers, chemical workers and textile workers have signed a national labour contract involving the adoption of a single classification for manual workers, technicians and salaried employees which is bound to have far-reaching social and educational implications.

In connection with the keen nationwide controversy over the utilisation of these 150 hours, the Metal Workers' Confederation has put forward a draft plan.

Its first point is that these 150 hours should be used collectively and not individually. The idea is to improve the condition of workers collectively rather than individually and raise the cultural, political and occupational standards of the working class as a whole by creating a new educational approach based on the association of theory and practice.

The second point is the decision to use the State schools for the 150 hours' leave scheme in a move to change the schools from within, enlisting the support of the teachers in this new educational and pedagogical experiment.

64

The third point is the refusal of the unions to use their 150 hours for any type of training which would ultimately be of use to their employers and their firms rather than to themselves collectively.

The biggest problem facing the unions is to salvage the 76 per cent of workers without any compulsory schooling school certificate. In May 1973, the unions signed an agreement with the government to organise 750 special courses enabling 15,000 workers to obtain the junior secondary school certificate. It is hoped that this small beginning will lead to a revolution in the traditional system of education.

Legal status of teachers in State schools

The legislation of July 1973 (Act No. 477) is designed to democratise school administration and introduce a series of fundamental innovations. In particular, it provides for the active participation of pupils, parents and trade unions in the administration of State schools.

It is hoped that this legislation will promote:

a) a policy of democratic participation;
b) a social policy of student/worker integration through educational leave;
c) an educational policy enabling the social partners to co-operate in working out new syllabuses;
d) a more efficient utilisation of personnel, services and structures.

The Regions

The regional decentralisation of 1972 made the Regions responsible, amongst other things, for public libraries, local museums and institutes of research and documentation of local and regional interest. This decentralisation set off a process of reform of existing structures and has had an encouraging effect on participation at local and regional level.

Under the new regional educational policy, it is hoped to set up centres for continuing education and forums for discussion and cultural exchanges in response to local demand, foster the revival of a regional theatre, and establish public control of the local television services, particularly in the case of cable television. Support and subsidies will also be forthcoming to encourage the development of broadly-based, autonomous bodies to administer civic and other education.

VI. SUGGESTED TYPOLOGY OF PARTICIPATION AND NON-PARTICIPATION IN ADULT EDUCATION

Survey of the problem

Participation is an elusive concept, difficult to analyse owing to lack of statistics. In particular, it must be borne in mind that participation and non-participation in adult education have varied in type from one period to another and that the idea of participation has varied in accordance with the trend in each period.

Typology of participation in adult education

Current research (Maister) suggests that there are four types of participation:

a) de facto participation (family, religion, environment);
b) spontaneous participation (liberation of the imaginative and creative element in a structured society);
c) voluntary participation (educational, political and trade union associations);
d) induced participation (promoted by the public authorities).

It seems difficult to make more than an abstract distinction between spontaneous and voluntary participation. It seems that participation is not primarily determined on educational and economic grounds but is a matter of moral commitment to change an existing situation. Non-participation is exactly the contrary, implying a refusal to avail oneself of existing structures, the absence of any moral commitment in regard to the opportunities offered and a refusal to be involved in any decisions in this connection.

Non-participation for reasons of non-utilisation of the existing structures

The extent of non-utilisation of the adult education facilities provided by the public authorities is reflected in the published statistics of workers who have successfully studied to junior secondary level. These figures are meagre when compared with the mass who do not avail themselves of the existing facilities, either because the latter are inadequate to meet the demand (in 1973 adult education accounted for 0.52 per cent of total budget appropriations for education) or for personal reasons, i.e. lack of confidence, fatigue, lack of incentive, etc. Two groups are in a particularly serious position, i.e. women in underprivileged areas and young dropouts.

Owing to the mass migration of men from southern Italy, their wives are faced with the entire responsibility for rearing the family, educating the children and sometimes farming a small family holding.

It should be remembered that illiteracy or semi-illiteracy among women is 15 to 20 per cent higher than among men.

In 1972 at least 25 per cent of the national service age group had no primary school certificate, i.e. they had left school before the age of 14. Young people in this position are not encouraged to resume their studies not only because their families cannot afford the fees but because traditional syllabuses and teaching methods offer them no incentive and they drift into apathy and defeatism.

Non-participation due to absence of moral commitment

The government's decision that responsibility for the Educational Service Centres run by the Fund for Southern Italy should be assigned to the various non-governmental associations for adult education has tended to democratise the activities of the Centres, especially as the association members are highly motivated and anxious to have a share in their management. This development will enable the Regions to enlist wide support from the local population as part of the decentralisation process.

Nevertheless, owing to the traditional policy of the Italian Government, which has until recently discouraged local initiative, a large proportion of the public has not yet begun to participate. It is probably because of this difficulty that private adult education schemes in Italy have often been bold and original.

Non-participation due to refusal to accept administrative decisions

The Popular Education Centres set up in 1949 by the National Union to Combat Illiteracy were the first example in Italy of direct management of adult education. This democratic trend continued strongly up to 1967/68 after which it began to decline.

The international congress on adult education organised in Rome in April, 1951 by the National Union adopted the line that the Popular Education Centres were a meeting place for persons with different backgrounds, all with insufficient basic education and all having something to learn and something to teach.

The 1952 congress coupled the elimination of illiteracy with the propagation of democratic principles. This approach has certainly encouraged the spread of political democracy in southern Italy and many previously illiterate or semi-literate trainees from the Education Centres are now active as local mayors or town councillors.

There is at present a wide range of workers' educational projects run by the Communist Party or by individual teachers and university students, largely catering for workers in city suburbs. Perhaps the most significant is the Educational Co-operation Movement inspired by the work of the French educationalist Freinet. This movement has concerned itself with the educational problems of Italian workers who have emigrated to different European countries and consequently has branches in several countries.

The Educational Co-operation Movement has a new approach to the administration of adult education. It has radicalised the whole problem by replacing participation by direct, collective management in which the learner takes over the initiative for his own learning process. It warns its adherents against mere participation, and calls for an attitude not of co-operation and assistance but of complete identification with the workers.

This approach, though extremely complex from the technical angle is much more feasible from the political standpoint. The basic refusal on the part of the illiterate, the handicapped and the oppressed to participate obediently in any type of adult education organised and imposed from above foreshadows a revolutionary policy on the part of the unions to raise the status of the workers.

THE NETHERLANDS

by

Theo J. Jeuring

I. PRESUPPOSITIONS

In many discussions about changes in education, preconceived ideas play an important part. These ideas can often be traced back to certain conceptions of man and society. It is characteristic, however, that they are not made explicit.

The Dutch education system is implicitly a dual one. It can therefore be a problem to interpret the terms "education" and "further education" correctly. Whenever organised forms of education are discussed here, it should be noted that the term "education" covers two different concepts. The first meaning of the term is "onderwijs", i.e. schooling and instruction (its institutional setting is the school, the university and similar institutions). The second meaning is "vorming", which accentuates the affective aspects of personality development rather than cognitive learning (its institutional setting varies from local evening classes, settlement houses or community centres, to regional institutions).

The two meanings of "education" can be perceived again in the twofold nature of the Dutch education system. This dualism appears in the differentiation between the intellectual/technological development of human potential.

The intellectual and technological development is characterised by:

- consideration of the pupil's function as a future worker to meet the demands of the economic system;
- emphasis on cognitive requirements expressed in qualifications, and consequently
- extension of the examination system;
- selection according to level of cognitive attainment.

The broader personal development is characterised by:

- attempting to give full scope to the individual's skills;
- the individual as the starting point;

- enabling everyone to cultivate specific talents, aptitudes and abilities;
- adapting to the pupil's subjects of interest, with tuition and coaching suited to the individual's character.

The term "schooling" will be used thereafter to describe the intellectual/technological characteristics. The term "education" will be used only when dealing with broader personal development. Because the dualistic line of thought is implicit, a clear distinction between "schooling institutions" and "educational institutions" cannot be made for the Netherlands. When comparing their curricula, it is possible to distinguish differences in emphasis. Regular schooling (primary school up to university) puts the emphasis on cognitive learning, although there is still room for personality development. It should be mentioned that many teachers in regular schooling do manage to use the margin beyond the cognitive requirements of the school-leaving examination for "education" purposes.

Among the institutions that operate alongside and after State schooling are those that are directed towards practical training, as well as those with emphasis on personality development.

II. INSTITUTIONS FOR SCHOOLING AND EDUCATION IN THE NETHERLANDS

A short survey of the Dutch institutions of schooling and education follows. It distinguishes between regular schooling institutions (day school for those between the ages of 4 and 25) and institutions parallel to and after regular schooling.

Compulsory schooling lasts for nine years, from the age of 6 to 15. Nursery schools are intended for children from 4 to 6, or, exceptionally, 7. At the age of 6, Dutch children enter a school for "basisonderwijs" (elementary or primary schooling) which lasts for six years, from which they progress to a post-primary or secondary school. There are four principal types of secondary schooling:

- secondary schooling leading to university: "gymnasium" and "atheneum", with a six-year course;
- general secondary schooling "AVO" (Algemeen Voortgezet Onderwijs) subdivided into:

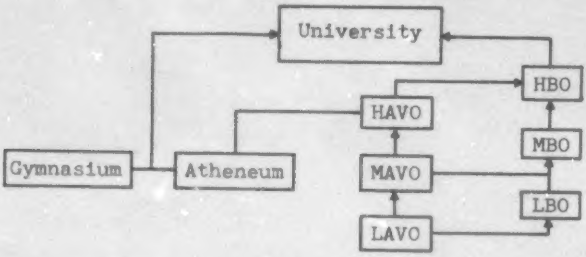
higher level	-	"HAVO":	5 years
intermediate level	-	"MAVO":	4 years
lower level	-	"LAVO":	2 or 3 years

- vocational schooling "B.O." (Beroeps Onderwijs) subdivided into:

higher level	-	"HBO"

intermediate level - "MBO"
lower level - "LBO"

- other forms of secondary schooling.



From the diagram it can be seen that:

- Atheneum and gymnasium lead to university
- HAVO leads to HBO
- MAVO leads to HAVO or MBO
- LAVO leads to LBO, MAVO, HAVO, Atheneum and Gymnasium
- MBO leads to HBO
- LBO leads to MBO
- HBO qualification certificate gives access to university.

The main tendency of the Dutch schooling system is to train the pupil for a qualification, which expresses the individual's cognitive attainment. This is the only criterion for the continuous selection.

The institutions parallel and subsequent to regular schooling are summarised below. Again, the out-of-school institutions can be distinguished according to their orientation which is characterised either by a curriculum emphasizing cognitive learning, or by one which emphasizes the wider personality development.

a) Out-of-school institutions directed towards cognitive learning:

- "avondonderwijs", i.e. evening schooling, duplicates more or less day schooling. There are evening schools for: Gymnasium, Atheneum, HAVO, MAVO, LABO, MBO, and university (also weekend courses).

Like day schooling, evening schooling is characterised by:

- orientation towards cognitive skills
- selection
- training for a qualification.

- "leerlingwezen" (apprenticeship)
  Any young employee of 15 or older is allowed a schooling agreement besides his labour contract.

The employer binds himself to give the boy or girl practical training and the opportunity to attend a vocational school one day a week.
In the Netherlands there are 37 apprenticeship schemes.

- "afstand-onderwijs", (distance schooling), (postal tuition)

  There is a great variety of correspondence courses and exams, e.g. teacher qualifications, commerce and administration, technical and professional training courses.
  There are also private postal tuition institutes at university level which provide training courses in economics and law.

- other part-time courses

  - day and evening schooling for social workers
  - other professional schooling at higher, intermediate and lower level.

b) Out-of-school institutions directed towards wider personality development:

  - classes for greater self-fulfilment for working youths. For workers of school age: two days a week. (Before 1974, it was one day a week.)
  - personality development through clubs and unions.
  - personality development through educational conference centres.
  - radio university classes.

c) Out-of-school institutions with equal emphasis on "education" and "schooling"

  - "Teleac": additional courses, language courses, subject courses, etc.
  - "participatie-onderwijs" (integrated education) for working youths of 15 to 18 who have left regular school. This type of integrated education combines personality development and vocational education.

III. THE DISADVANTAGED IN THE DUTCH SCHOOLING SYSTEM

The curriculum of primary and secondary schooling is drawn up each year to suit pupils of "calendar age", this being the average "pedagogical age" of the age group. A pupil who, for some reason or other, cannot come up to the average pedagogical model which forms the basis of each year's curriculum will fall victim to selection: he must repeat his class or leave school and give up further schooling. Low achievers in school (for whatever reason) are not provided with an extension of schooling as might be justly expected, but with repetition (putting the clock back a whole year) or even a shortened schooling (dropout). The "best" pupils stay on longest at school (through to university), the "worst" the shortest time since they disappear at school-leaving age.

The individuals who cannot reach the requirements of the schooling system will thus participate in society "with reduced schooling profit". This often corresponds to a reduced opportunity to benefit from the so-called scarce social goods, such as:

- educational provisions (further schooling and education)
- employment
- income
- social and economic mobility
- political participation
- provisions for recreational activities.

This report is limited to a discussion of the opportunity to benefit from (further) schooling and education. In connection with the preceding argument, a distinction will be made between: access to regular schooling, from primary school through to university; access to schooling and education institutions catering for adults.

As pupils' selection in the schooling system is by law based on attainment, especially cognitive performance, and not on other criteria such as the social background or sex , one might expect that the school in our society would be the very instrument to provide access to scarce social goods. It must be said, however, that schooling does not come up to these expectations.

The schooling system is by no means so organised as to let all children benefit from the right to receive full schooling. Important factors for determining the level of school achievement are in many cases socio-economic background and sex. This is illustrated in Tables 1 and 2.

The very unequal representation of children from various profession groups is evident. Of the boys with primary schooling only, as many as 75 per cent come from a working-class background. Of the girls this percentage is 82.

Table 2 illustrates the unequal access to schooling provision. It gives the proportion of children from various social backgrounds, having university schooling and those having higher level secondary schooling leading to university.

It can be concluded from numerous inquiries that young people from the lower socio-economic groups have fewer chances of school success than those of the same age from middle-class and upper-class backgrounds. This is clear both from the rate of their representation in all types of secondary and tertiary schooling, and from the speed with which they gain the school-leaving certificates.

Table 1

FATHER'S PROFESSIONAL STATUS AND CHILDREN'S SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT

(%)

Father's professional status	boys		girls	
	primary school only	partial secondary schooling	primary school only	partial secondary schooling
Higher professions	-	2	-	8
Self-employed in trade	15	17	5	11
Middle-income employees	5	24	6	16
Lower-income employees	5	11	7	17
Skilled workers	15	25	19	24
Unskilled workers	60	21	63	24
Total	100	100	100	100

Table 2

COMPARATIVE ACCESS TO SCHOOLING PROVISION BY FATHER'S PROFESSIONAL STATUS

(%)

Father's professional status	1964 Children with university education	1962 Children with secondary schooling	1960 Dutch population
Higher-level professions	43	27	5
Intermediate-level professions	47	52	40
Lower-level professions	10	21	55
Total	100	100	100

The case of schooling difficulties, it appears that young people from the lower classes drop out more frequently than others. At the same time it appears that girls have less access to schooling provision than boys. Girls are particularly poorly represented in the higher-level types of schooling. Further, it appears that girls studying for the same qualifications as boys, have poor results in gaining their certificates. Comparatively more girls enter working life with uncompleted schooling, although as a rule girls who dropped out of school early attend other schooling or education more frequently than boys.

Access to institutions for adult education and schooling

From a representative survey by the Dutch Centre of Adult Education ("NCVO") the following emerges:

- participants in adult education are chiefly among the privileged; the educational gap becomes wider as a consequence and provides an example of the rule that "schooling profit" is closely related to the degree of access to scarce social goods, of which schooling and educational provision are part.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the survey gave the following picture:

- participants are more often men than women;
- less than 3 per cent from the lower classes (two-thirds of the Dutch population) participate in the formative work in educational centres, 11 per cent in local educational institutions of clubs and unions, and 16 per cent in postal tuition.

As for regular evening schooling, there are similar results:

- though evening courses are intended for those who have missed former opportunities, they can hardly be said to have caused external democratisation as far as socio-economic background is concerned. The correlation between father's profession and schooling (and mother's schooling) on the one hand, and the former schooling of the evening-course student on the other, has remained constant over the last 20 years.

If democratisation had taken place, this correlation would have become less obvious. However, the higher level secondary evening courses and the evening "Gymnasium" and "Atheneum" courses are still mainly attended by individuals with a middle-class background.

Evening schooling at lower level is attended by more students from the lower classes. Theoretically, of course, it is possible for this last group to proceed to higher-level schooling. Although there are no data available concerning this progression, what is certain is that they can achieve this only by great effort of will, since attending classes in the evening, after a day's work, is a strain.

As for former schooling, some democratisation has taken place. The percentage of evening course students with former lower-level professional schooling has increased to a certain extent over the last few years. However, there remains a gap between professional schooling and general secondary schooling, a gap which is felt as a considerable obstacle by many individuals with professional schooling.

The majority of the evening school learners are males. Yet, in this respect also, democratisation is progressing. The percentage of women in 1963 was 16 per cent; in 1969, it was 22 per cent and in 1972 it had increased to 35 per cent. It should be noticed, however, that the 1972 percentage gives a somewhat inflated picture, because the evening-school female students of MAVO are included. Relatively more women are registered at the evening courses for general secondary schooling at intermediate level (MAVO) than at higher-level general secondary schools (HAVO) and general secondary schools leading to university (Atheneum and Gymnasium). Assuming that women are generally behind in schooling, it can be said that evening schooling does not yet offer as much a second opportunity as could be expected. Yet, a trend in this direction is appearing.

Teleac

Research has shown that participants in television courses are to a great extent former students of various out-of-school courses. This again corroborates the hypothesis that participation leads to participation. Schooling and education are thus preconditions for further schooling and education.

The Dutch public, in fact, pictures teleac as follows: the broadcast courses are considered as specialised programmes in that they are useful, worthwhile and necessary for a limited, especially interested audience. In view of this, it is not surprising that in their majority teleac course students are males, generally from the middle and upper classes.

IV. THE DISADVANTAGED ADULT GROUPS

The disadvantaged adult is one whose handicap does not allow him or her to participate fully in society. Because the selection for scarce social goods is mainly brought about by regular schooling, the case can be made that a person who cannot fully participate in society has in most instances dropped out of the schooling system, unable to meet its requirements, especially cognitive requirements. As mentioned above pupils who do manage to attain the required level attend school longest; the "best" go to university and the "worst" stay the shortest period.

Formerly, access to scarce social goods was possible only through selection on the cognitive attainment principle, and not according to socio-economic background or sex. It has been said above, however, that lower classes and women are over-represented among dropouts and non-participants.

The same holds for adult education and schooling since for the disadvantaged adults their handicap is socio-economic background and sex. To enlarge the schooling profit for the disadvantaged individual, he should be given extra schooling. Until now, extra schooling and education was reserved for the middle class (40 per cent of the Dutch population) and the upper class (5 per cent), mainly for males.

In view of the above, this report concentrates on three groups of disadvantaged adults: lower class; women; working youths who have entered working life with little schooling profit. These groups are of course not exclusive: a working girl of sixteen, with lower-class background, is not exceptional . A young woman of 23, university student, with a lower-class background, is a less frequent case.

The lower socio-economic groups

As has been noted before, socio-economic background can be either a handicap or a stimulating factor where participation in the different types of schooling is concerned. The lower-class people can be said to have a handicap.

It appeared from numerous surveys that the factor of socio-economic background strongly influences progress to higher-level general secondary schooling and schooling leading to university. It is a negative factor in the case of children from the lower class. Professional schooling at lower level is attended by a significantly greater number of lower-class children. It further appears that the number of dropouts from general secondary schooling is greater among lower-class children than among the middle and upper classes, which cannot be explained by their being less capable.

Two models may be used to explain non-participation and dropping out:

- the school is not "pupil-adaptable"; it does not adjust to the child's potential;
- at the same time the child is too little "school-adaptable" and cannot fit to the school requirements.

Those who have studied inequality of opportunity have up to now concentrated mainly on "school adaptability" of lower-class children. A number of compensation schemes in the Netherlands try to make working-class children fit to the school requirements:

- mastery of the language used in school;
- adjustment to the value attached to cognitive attainment.

That the compensation schemes frequently have a rather disappointing outcome is caused by the way in which the discrepancy between pupil and school is being tackled. School curriculum is not adapted to the pupil; the pupil has to adapt to the existing schooling. Different motivation, different emphasis on values and different mastery of languages are marked as shortcomings. The socio-economic situation at large stands as it is, even if it is a cause for the lagging behind of the lower-class children. Leaving aside the direction towards certain values at the basis of the school system, one has to start from, and adapt to, the existing values, namely those that are required by the economic system.

It is not difficult to understand that these last three factors hinder the successful achievement of the compensation schemes which are to help make up for the pupil's unreadiness in a number of respects. It must be stated, though, that only a limited number of compensation schemes have been started in the Netherlands. By far the majority of children from a disadvantaged background have to do without compensation schemes altogether. They are, and generally will be, little school-adaptable.

If a child at the age of 6 or 7 is unfit for school in a number of respects, being thus behind children of his age, he will suffer from these shortcomings. In most instances he will not catch up later. On the contrary, the little enthusiasm the child has for school will diminish if he cannot keep up and he will fall behind the other children.

His relative disadvantage has thus a negative influence on his motivation and school success. Many of these children, and their parents too because of their own experience at school, will dissociate themselves emotionally from the idea of schooling. This dissociation will grow stronger as their disadvantage becomes clearer, not only from what happens at school every day, but also if the individual has had to repeat a year and to see his peers proceed to next level. Many will in the end depart with relief at the school-leaving age.

The gap in educational attainment is present at the beginning of regular schooling, and becomes wider and wider in later life. The conditions for and causes of this gap are not to be found in the first years of schooling. The problem of relative backwardness is a large-scale social problem. The relative backwardness of children with a lower socio-economic background is consistent with the position of the disadvantaged in general.

It may well be that if there is a case of relative backwardness, this is caused by the pedagogical model of the regular school system. The choice of a pedagogical model is based on the objectives at which the schools aim. These objectives, in turn, are implicitly and explicitly determined at a political and economic level. If equal opportunities for all is an aim, it is not only the symptoms which should be treated, but also causes and conditions. Up to now the fight against symptoms predominates.

The fight against symptoms is carried out by means of a limited number of compensation schemes and out-of-school instruction (providing a second opportunity):

- regular evening schooling;
- correspondence courses;
- part-time schooling and education for working youth.

Second opportunity schooling leads to the issue of the disadvantaged adult.

As noted earlier, the schooling gap is by no means bridged by this extra opportunity. Almost the opposite is true. As we have seen, out-of-school instruction is attended by a majority of adults and adolescents from the middle classes who have in the past missed earlier schooling opportunities for whatever reason.

Logically enough, the problem of non-participation in adult schooling is also a large-scale social problem in so far as non-participants are disadvantaged by handicaps which have their origin in society or in the socio-economic system.

There seems thus to be a relationship between a person's position in the socio-economic hierarchy and psychological attitudes to his schooling and education. This is true for both adults and children.

The following distinction between middle-class and lower-class professions emerge: middle-class professions are more concerned with inter-personal relationships, ideas and symbols; they want individual responsibility and independent action. Working-class professions have to do more with manipulating things, objects, tools; they perform standardized actions which are more or less precisely fixed and prescribed in each working situation; their responsibility is limited and subject to direct control. This differentiation in responsibility, independence and work content may express itself in the case of the working classes in a tendency towards obedience and conformity to external rules, and in self-guidance and eagerness for knowledge in the case of the middle classes. The work environment may limit schooling possibilities, especially for unskilled workers.

Having higher aspirations, believing in one's own ability, one's aptitude for planning, the perspective of time, etc. can be influenced in a very negative way by the work environment. The social surrounding of the working man is confined to his fellow-workers sharing the same fate and to whom he feels bound on a basis of common feelings of helplessness against an obscurely organised outside world. This is expressed not only in the "emotional dissociation" already mentioned, but also in a relative isolation from information.

Insufficient information about the various types of schooling and education is possibly connected with this last attitude. The information often goes no further than professional schooling. The "emotional dissociation" from schooling can be accounted for by the nature of schooling, that is, by its being a middle-class institution. The language used, results to achieve, and subject matter of the schooling institutions suit the experience of the middle class better than that of the working class. Working-class adults consider schooling, and consequently adult education, as aliens to them. At school, the selective system relegated them to failure and this has left them with bitter memories. Non-participation in adult education may result from "emotional dissociation" and "isolation from information".

The "emotional dissociation" may in turn be related to the socio-economic hierarchy. Social sciences have so far done little research into the relation between social position and psychological attitudes. The theory has only begun to be elaborated. In the Netherlands much research has been done into the relation between psychological attitudes and participation, non-participation, school achievement, etc., among children as well as adults and adolescents. The results are interesting in themselves, but as long as they are not related to the smaller and larger socio-economic context they have only a limited value.

Women

Apart from the relatively low participation of the lower-class professions in the various formal schooling institutions and in adult education and schooling, women, too, are poorly represented.

The criteria of socio-economic background and sex obviously influence participation/non-participation, dropping out, and the speed at which a course is completed. Moreover, these factors reinforce each other mutually. It has appeared from research that upper classes do not discriminate between boys and girls when choosing a school for their sons and daughters.

Also, the limited increase of girls participating in higher-level types of schooling reflects the greater stream of participation from the middle classes.

As suggested earlier, there may be a relationship between the inferior position of women in the socio-economic hierarchy and a number of psychological attitudes regarding schooling. If women in general have an inferior position, women with a lower-class background have an even lower position when measured by their participation in schooling and education.

Aspirations to schooling are apparently higher for girls from the middle and upper classes than for girls from lower classes. Similarly, goal orientations seem to differ according to social background. Middle-class girls have a level of aspiration and achievement motivation better adjusted to the curriculum and nature of the schooling institutions.

As for schooling, this is expressed in the unequal participation in higher-level secondary schooling and in schooling leading to university.

In the case of equality of boys and girls, the proportions would be 1:1; in reality they are 3:2 (3 for boys).

In institutions for further schooling and education also, women are under-represented in regular evening schooling, correspondence courses, adult education and teleac. This holds for women of all classes, but particularly for women from lower classes.

The link between participation in schooling and women's position in society is another example of the general relationship between the inferior position of any individual in the socio-economic hierarchy and limited access to scarce social goods.

Non-participation of women is not a problem limited to a few individuals, which can be explained by relevant psychological attitudes, but a problem that must be considered in a larger socio-economic context. Their relative non-participation is a problem which is closely related to the different roles assigned to men and women, and the consequent implications as regards lack of access to the scarce social goods:

- provision for schooling and education;
- employment;
- financial income;
- political participation;
- socio-economic mobility.

As for access to the economic labour market, women can be said to be isolated. Generally they do not take part in the economic labour process, they are foredoomed to perform actions connected with "the biological functions", such as looking after the children, the home, food, clothing, etc., whereas the economic, administrative and political functions are a man's business. These are general characteristics of labour division in society. Even in the present situation, by far the larger part of the female population is engaged in housekeeping, while almost the whole male population is engaged in "out-of-family activities".

It is characteristic that out-of-family activities bring in financial and psychological income, whereas family activities are neither financially nor psychologically acknowledged by society.

The term "psychological income" implies meeting higher human needs, such as the need to affiliate and to have social contacts; to be with people, to be accepted by others, the need of appreciation, esteem and autonomy; the need of individual dignity, success and independence; the need of acknowledgement, power and prestige; the need for self-actualisation, the ultimate of all human strivings: individual development, allowing full scope to all aptitudes and abilities in the field of the so-called higher goods, such as art, science, culture and religion.

The term "biological needs" implies physiological needs; the need of food, of sexual satisfaction, of action, of rest; the need of safety and security, protection and economic security.

Family activities are concerned with satisfying physiological needs. They are women's lot. Men are concerned with satisfying the need for safety and security and, through their out-of-family activities, they can satisfy higher human needs. Men have thus more freedom to develop. That they are not developed is related in most cases to the nature and differentiation of the economic labour system.

An illustration of incomplete self-actualisation is the frequency of diseases such as heart diseases, ulcers, other troubles due to stress and the large number of absentees. In addition, the small measure of co-partnership, the obscurity of the labour process, the isolation of the working class should be mentioned. Out-of-family activities are in some ways not really liberating. It appears even more strongly from a report by the Club of Rome, "The limits to growth", that the economic activities are getting out of hand, and will even have a destructive instead of a liberating influence in the future. Women might not do jobs better, but it is discriminating not to offer them a chance of emancipation and also to deny women their share of responsibility.

Hidden unemployment

It is high time, in the Netherlands as elsewhere, for something to be done to reveal the hidden unemployment (out-of-family activities) among women. The solution to women's hidden unemployment will be found when family activities and out-of-family activities are distributed equally between men and women. Also the "schooling profit" of men and women should be of the same level as it remains a decisive factor in determining the position in the hierarchy of out-of-family activities.

Looking at the present situation, it can be seen that many girls leave school too early, and have to make do with a reduced schooling profit as a result. If these girls want to have out-of-family activities, they are obliged to take work at a low level. Besides, they are hardly able to compete with men for jobs, since if an employer has both male and female applicants for a job, he will give preference to a male candidate. Both these aspects - selection according to schooling profit and selection according to sex - hinder women's access to the labour market. There are more obstacles women have to overcome before they can participate in out-of-family activities: the tradition that a woman, particularly a mother, is to have family activities only; the tradition that a man is not meant to have family activities.

In order to improve women's position in society, far greater equality of men and women should be achieved at every social level. The traditional role distribution must be changed. In the Netherlands, various groups have tried to bring about a change, however slow, in the traditional mentality.

As for schooling and education, there is an attempt to make women participate through information schemes under the slogans "Mary should be wiser" and "Mary's mother can do more".

The present report is about disadvantaged adults like "Mary's mother". The content of the survey in "Mary's mother can do more" corresponds surprisingly with the purpose of this report, and it supports the convictions behind it.

This survey distinguishes three groups of disadvantaged women:

- those who want to return to the labour market and therefore need schooling;
- those who would like to return to out-of-family activities, but hesitate to take the step;
- those who would like to be active outside the family, but for whom out-of-school education is beyond their mental and material horizon.

Working Youth

In the Netherlands there are about 300,000 boys and girls 15 to 18 years old who no longer attend school (60 per cent of the age group). Of these 40 per cent have primary schooling only, and 20 per cent are going to complete lower-level professional schooling. Those young people who are working have left regular schooling because of the selective system, as they were unable to meet the school requirements and could not adapt to them. The pedagogical model for the various calendar age groups (characteristic of regular schooling) is apparently unsuitable for the manifest abilities of a great number of children. A type of schooling which is adapted to and starts from latent abilities/aptitudes should not produce such numerous drop-outs. Those who conform to the pedagogical model are the "best" and stay at school longest (through to university).

Anyone who did not profit from schooling cannot fully participate in society and is therefore a disadvantaged person. This category of young people at work is a disadvantaged group. Though not quite adults, but still adolescents, they are included here for the following reasons: they form a very large group as to numbers; their disadvantaged position as adolescents does not improve during the years of adolescence, rather the schooling gap between them and other youth the same age becomes wider; their disadvantaged situation as adults thus follows; young people at work have more experience of daily life, which makes them more adult than people the same age who are still at school.

In September 1970 a Ministry directive on education and labour conditions for young people at work was published. It stated: "The directive is aimed at giving everyone full scope for development according to his aptitudes and abilities. The Ministry thinks it just and at the same time effective to see to improving development opportunities for those categories whose chances in the present cultural and economic situation are the least favourable. Young people at work are at present a disadvantaged category".

The principal measures proposed are:

a) Raising the school-leaving age and extending compulsory part-time attendance:

   - on 1st August, 1971, 9-year compulsory education was instituted, and compulsory part-time education was proposed on the basis of one day a week for those above school-leaving age, but under 16;
   - on 1st August, 1972, compulsory part-time education was instituted on the basis of one day a week for those above school-leaving age, but under 17;
   - compulsory part-time education for two days a week for those above school-leaving age, but under 16, was scheduled to be introduced on 1st August, 1973, but was postponed to 1st August, 1974;
   - on 1st August, 1974, a second day for those above school-leaving age, but under 17, was scheduled;
   - on 1st August, 1975, compulsory part-time education for one day a week for those above school-leaving age but under 18 was scheduled;
   - by 1980 full-time compulsory education under 18 is to be achieved.

b) Experiments with a new type of integrated schooling for children 11 or 12 years old to 14 or 16.

c) Experiments with education and schooling institutions, called "regional centres" where "participatie onderwijs" (integrated education) can be developed.

Carrying the directives into effect was rather imperfect in view of the delay in introducing the measures planned. In practice, also, problems have arisen. Many young people prefer to go on working on the day they should attend schooling. They do not feel like it, consider it a waste of time. They enjoy not to have to go to school any more.

Some simply detest everything that reminds them of school, and another problem is income foregone. Many firms do not give pay for that day, so that working is prefereable to "wasting one's money for that day". Moreover, for those who still devote one or two days a week for study, finding a job becomes very difficult.

Potential school drop-outs will, as a result, stay on at school, in spite of the difficulties they have. The saying "I hate school, I hate the factory, but there it pays", often will not be true anymore. Whoever drops out of school knows that there is a risk of unemployment and is therefore more or less forced to stay on at school for one or two more years.

At present there are three types of institutions catering for young people at work: institutions for education (formative); institutions for schooling (apprenticeship); and integrated schooling and education: ("participatie onderwijs").

Educational institutions (formative institutions) are attended by the large number of unskilled young workers on the compulsory day. There are about 260 of these institutions in the Netherlands. They operate with rather homogeneous, fixed groups of about 12-15 pupils. The groups are taught by a team of a maximum of six adult leaders with whom there is frequent contact, and whose aims are to motivate young people at work to develop themselves and make them familiar with various social institutions. The subjects include man and society (work, family, politics) cultural education (developing taste, creativity, expression, music, film, etc.) games and sports and handicrafts. The teaching consists of giving information, discussing various themes, confrontation with various social institutions, practising social skills, doing creative work, games and sports. In addition, introductory and supplementary training courses are provided. Whether the aims are being achieved is doubtful.

One day of education cannot hold against four working days and seven in the home environment. Both work and home environments have a more "formative" influence on young people's personality than the educational institution. This type of education will therefore have more effect if the other environments can be influenced so as to change for the better. Achieving the aim of educating young people at work is further hindered by the ideological differences between the teaching staff and the governing board. The board is formed of persons representing local society and politics; its members are from industrial circles, political associations, religious societies and trade unions. The teaching staff is completely dependent on the decisions of the board. Because most governors are not keen to see social conditions change, there is often friction between staff and governors. Such controversy is not likely to work in the interests of the working youth.

Institutions for schooling (apprenticeship) for working youth offer training in one particular skill. This type of schooling therefore consists of vocational training courses. Besides the labour contract, a schooling agreement is made by which the employer binds himself to give the apprentice practical training to allow him or her to attend vocational schooling for one day a week, most often at the "regional schools". If the boy or girl participates in practical training, he or she is considered to be under "apprenticeship". There are 37 apprenticeship systems in the Netherlands.

Apprentices are taught by tutors from national organisations providing professional schooling, and by regional tutors responsible for the socio-pedagogical side of their education. The latter interfere whenever there is a conflict between the apprentice and his employer, keep in touch with parents, and encourage future apprentices leaving lower-level professional schools to make a schooling agreement when they start work.

Research indicates that teaching is not as efficient as it should be. About 60 per cent of the apprentices say that they have never had a talk with the tutors; 63 per cent complain of little or no congruence between the skill they are training for and the tasks set by the centres. There is much dissatisfaction among the apprentices about the system itself: of the 66 per cent who find it insufficient, 23 per cent find it bad and useless. More than half the apprentices do not complete their schooling. Whether this high percentage of drop-outs is due to the inadequate teaching or to any other causes is not clear.

Integrated schooling and education institutions ("participatie onderwijs") were introduced in the Ministry's 1970 directives for young people at work. Experiments to integrate their schooling and education are being evaluated by specialists. The combined education and professional schooling constitutes what is called school component and is carried out in a Regional Centre.

On the other hand, when they are not in the Regional Centre, boys and girls have practical work, for example in firms. This part of their training is called society component.

In short, "participatie onderwijs" is schooling and education in the Regional Centre combined with learning on various sectors of society. Once the school-leaving age is raised to 18, it is intended that all "working" youth attend a Regional Centre. At the moment, only a small number of Regional Centres are operative, and there are still difficulties to be overcome: financial resources continue to be scarce, authorities disagree with each other; there is rivalry between the existing schooling and education institutions about the amount of schooling and education to be provided; further, it has not been decided yet who will have the ultimate responsibility for the apprentice: it is claimed both by the schooling and education institutions and by the firms concerned. There are also problems concerning teaching methods especially with teachers coming from vocational schooling institutes.

The following conclusions may be drawn: young people at work are a group of individuals who leave regular schooling too early. As a result of their reduced schooling profit they are in a disadvantaged position because of their reduced access to the scarce social goods. The education and schooling institutions are intended to give young people at work additional schooling and education. They do not, however, provide a second opportunity for them to extend their schooling profit; not even for those who complete their course and gain a certificate. The schooling gap cannot be bridged by the institutions that cater for the working youth for they provide too few possibilities.

Young people at work still depend on evening schooling and correspondence courses. Compared with youth of their age who attend regular schooling, they find themselves in an inferior position. The next part is devoted to suggesting ways to extend the provision for this disadvantaged group in Dutch society.

V. FUTURE DEVELOPMENT TOWARDS DEMOCRATISATION

Four Components of Democratisation

In the preceding sections three underprivileged categories, and their access to schooling, further schooling and education have been discussed.

Going one step further, it is useful to examine what types of democratisation would allow these categories to participate more fully. Four types may be distinguished.

Qualitative internal democratisation:
concerns the degree of activating all human potentials. Qualitative internal democratisation is insufficient if education only contains schooling, one-sided cognitive training. The term should be equivalent to self-actualisation, and signifies the broader development of human potentials.

Quantitative internal democratisation:
concerns self-guidance, co-partnership in deciding the nature, content and management of schooling and education for every individual and every category.

Qualitative external democratisation:
concerns the degree in which values, content and organisation of education and schooling are allowed to reflect and support the socio-economic system in society.

Quantitative external democratisation:
concerns the degree of access to all forms of education and schooling. It can be said to exist if access and participation are possible for every one, and if access and participation are not impeded by socio-economic handicaps.

87

As noted at the beginning of this report the Dutch schooling system is implicitly a dual one. That the dualism is implicit can be explained by the fact that the Dutch "education" system has evolved slowly in the past. It has no clearly defined concept of man as its basis, but it is the ultimate result of its evolution from the 18th- and 19th-century class society.

The implicit dualism should be revealed and as a next step the starting points should be made explicit. This means determining the anthropological and ethical basis on which to determine the aims and "means" by which to achieve the ultimate objectives.

The quantitative internal democratisation concerns the degree to which every individual can determine and influence the chronological organisation, content and nature of his own education and schooling. In the Netherlands there is little quantitative internal democratisation, for the social system is strictly hierarchical. There is a hierarchy in levels of cognitive attainment in primary, secondary and tertiary education. There is a hierarchy of ages at which certain cognitive attainments must have been achieved. What goes on in schools is schooling; education belongs to out-of-school activities. Lastly, schooling is limited to young persons, and in this limited period the schooling profit must be made.

The qualitative external democratisation is of course closely related to the degree of qualitative internal democratisation. So long as the implicit dualistic line of thought has not been revealed, and the emphasis remains on schooling, which acts as pre-selection for access to positions in the socio-economic system, there is little question of qualitative external democratisation. Nor can there be, so long as the criterion for the content of schooling is the kind of knowledge needed to participate in and support the socio-economic system. If the nature and organisation of the economic system were to be dependent on a notion of man that is made explicit, qualitative external democratisation could be achieved; education would determine economic activities, and not the other way round.

Quantitative external democratisation is achieved if every individual has access to any provision for schooling and education, and if access is not impeded by socio-economic handicaps. There are at least three categories in Dutch society that have relatively little access to schooling and education, and there is an educational gap between the schooled and the non-schooled. Women, people with a lower socio-economic background and young people at work are on the wrong side of the gap. This report concentrates on quantitative external democratisation, the degree of access to further schooling and education of disadvantaged adult groups in the Netherlands. This aspect cannot, however, be separated from the other three components of democratisation.

Proposals for Democratisation

Quantitative external democratisation cannot be isolated from the other components of democratisation, and the problem of adult education is linked to general educational problems. Concrete proposals concerning the four aspects of democratisation are given below.

1. Qualitative internal democratisation

Up to 1974, schooling has been characterised by a one-sided emphasis on cognitive and technical attainment leaving only marginal space for the development of other human potentials.

Proposals:

- If "schooling" is to be "education", the emphasis should be on the wider development of human potential;
- Neither society nor the economic system should determine the content of learning; the pupil should be the starting point. Use of language, interests, experience, aptitudes and abilities of children should be given full scope;
- There should be a shift from professional attainment to self-guidance. Children should be educated from the beginning of their coming of school age and self-expression, self-activity, creativity stimulated;
- Rationality should be developed not only in the sense of academic thinking, but also in the sense of, for instance, choosing social relations, learning to use all human powers of expression, etc.;
- The skills and cognitive attainment needed for participation in society should be kept to a minimum.

For adults:

- The adult in his specific situation must be a starting point:
  - i) the adult has a role to play in family activities or in out-of-family activities;
  - ii) the adult has a relatively wide knowledge of life;
  - iii) the adult who wants further schooling and education is strongly motivated;
  - iv) adult groups are even less homogeneous than groups of young persons, because of differences in age, intelligence, knowledge of life, former schooling and education, etc.

- The provision for adult education must provide opportunities for:

i) schooling - giving a second chance to disadvantaged adults;
ii) education - stimulating self-expression, self-realisation, developing awareness of position in society, developing social skills.

2. Quantitative internal democratisation

The Dutch schooling system has a hierarchical nature which was described earlier.

Proposals:

- Do away with yearly curriculum per calendar age and provide a differentiated set of learning units to suit the individual's pace and aptitude; this can be done by forming level groups instead of age groups;
- Replace the hierarchical divisions into primary, secondary and tertiary schooling according to level of cognitive attainment by (a) fundamental education and schooling; (b) extended education and schooling.

a) Fundamental education and schooling in two phases:

Phase 1: basic education as a period of compulsory schooling and education, from the age of 4 to 11 or 13.

Phase 2: "middle school" as a period of compulsory schooling and education, from the age of 11 or 13 to 16, making room for, amongst other things,
- orientation towards the possibilities of extended schooling and education;
- individual guidance as to the choice of a profession.

b) Extended education and schooling

After compulsory middle school there should be compulsory schooling and education up to the age of 18, giving everyone a right to schooling and education.

Compulsory schooling and education. Compulsion is necessary:
- to counterbalance the unequal distribution of the scarce social goods, and to bridge the schooling gap between privileged and underprivileged groups;
- to provide everyone with a real chance of participating in extended schooling and education; it is thus necessary to have a foundation of knowledge, abilities and personality development.

The right to schooling and education according to the principle that every person should be free to decide whether or not to participate in further schooling and education. The right to education and schooling can be exercised by an individual at any moment of his life. After a certain period in employment, for example, the right can be exercised (recurrent education). A system of "credit cards" should be developed by which every individual receives a number of cards, each card providing access to schooling and education institutions.

There are three categories of provision:

i) professional schooling preparing for managerial and middle-level professions;

ii) higher-level schooling directed towards scholarly and scientific pursuits;

iii) education centres providing permanent opportunity for education and bringing together very varied educational and social provisions. The centres have three functions:

- compensation
- complementation
- self-actualisation

The first step: Open School

The first two functions of the Education Centre can be said to be just beginning. Shortly an Innovation Committee will be set up to study provisions for "second-opportunity schooling" and "second-way schooling".

"Secondary-opportunity schooling" caters for adults and young people by providing the opportunity to obtain a certificate to those who did not obtain it in their youth for some reason or other, but were potentially able (external quantitative democratisation).

"Second-way schooling" provides alternative provisions for adolescents of the same age as pupils in regular schooling, and complementary schooling for adults. In the first instance it is suggested to make provisions that correspond more or less to secondary schooling and professional schooling at intermediate level as it exists in the present schooling system. Besides this, provision will be made for attending what may be termed educational courses.

It is obvious that the institutes that at present provide "second-opportunity schooling" and "second-way schooling" are laying the foundations - such as correspondence courses, regional centres for working youth and evening schooling - on which the Open School will be built. In the Open School these institutions will complement each other.

The present evening schools and regional centres are already distributed all over the country and will obviously be made into regional centres of the Open School. According to the law, correspondence courses, regional centres for young people at work and evening schooling organisations will all be integrated, the fourth partner being the organisation that will cater for the audio-visual side of the schooling. The Open School will use individual and group tuition, schooling by postal tuition, and instruction by means of audiovisual aids.

Because of its multi-media nature, schooling can take place both in day time and in leisure time. All this will further external quantitative democratisation, and probably also external qualitative democratisation.

3. Qualitative external democratisation

Up to now the main purpose of "onderwijs" has been to develop cognitive and intellectual technical potentials, to suit the functioning of the economic system.

This means that there is a one-sided relationship between schooling and society, in the same sense that the economic system determines the contents of the schooling.

More and more people protest against this link and are right to do so for two reasons at least; the first is the increasing discrepancy between the static knowledge, necessary skills and desired attitudes from the older generation to the younger. How well adults function in society is to a great extent determined by their amount of schooling. The amount of schooling profit is not only an important factor in determining the degree of access to scarce social goods - it is at the same time a significant label. At present, schooling can no longer (if ever) be said to be adequately suited to preparing pupils for a future socio-economic position.

Society is changing continually both in social terms and values and through ever more complex structures. There is a continuous increase of scientific knowledge and technology. The dynamic movement is manifest and can be measured from one generation to another.

Proposals:

The dynamic society requires a dynamic individual, whose continuous development does not end when he leaves school, but lasts during his whole life.

It is no longer enough for schooling to transfer static knowledge during one period of the pupil's life. New aims should be:

- to develop self-bearing and creativity;
- learning skills in acquiring knowledgedge and understanding;
- individual flexibility;
- lifelong learning, permanent education, recurrent education.

The other reason is that there is an ever-increasing discrepancy between the direction in which society develops and the aims of the individuals themselves. The report by the Club of Rome, "The Limits to Growth", takes a grave view of the future. Society is developing in a direction of its own. In line with internal qualitative democratisation, there is a growing desire to stop schooling from being determined by autonomous powers that do not take account of man's will independent from the individual's will to determine his own fate.

Proposals:

The process should be reversed.

Education and schooling can help to achieve this, if its aim is man's development.

The aims of education and schooling should then be to help understand social processes, develop skills for political participation, awareness of the ethical aspects of life and understanding of ecological problems.

4. Quantitative external democratisation

Because the selective system in schooling is based on criteria of cognitive attainment and technical skills, and not on social background or sex, one might expect the school to be the very instrument to provide access to the scarce social goods. It has, however, been proved that the amount of ultimate schooling profit does depend on social background and sex.

The degree of participation is influenced by these same two factors. Lower-class students and girls are strongly under-represented in the upper school levels (through to university) and in adult schooling and education. This cannot be accounted for by their lower intelligence, but by the discrepancy between the codes of disadvantaged groups and those that are used at school; language, values, etc.

The discrepancy between the codes has resulted in the "emotional dissociation" of the pupil with the "wrong" codes.

Proposals:

The proposals mentioned under quantitative internal democratisation are also relevant here:

i) reduce the one-sided aspect of the school and provide more scope for other aspects of the pupil's personality;
ii) give more attention to the development of self-help, choosing one's own direction;
iii) the time provided to make up for lagging behind (as the schooling system marks it) will become longer if infant education and fundamental education are to be integrated in the Open School system; perhaps this will no longer be a problem;
iv) extension of the adult schooling and education provisions;

v) participation will increase
   - the causes of emotion dissociation from the schooling are being removed (i, ii, iii)
   - the approach is multi-media; radio and television bring education and schooling "home" to people.

vi) at any moment of his life "the pupil" may exercise his right to schooling by using the credit cards he has.

Maybe there will come a time when education and schooling compensate for society.

REFERENCES

1. G. Bergenhenegouwen, De ouders en het onderwijs van hun kinderen, Nijmegen, 1972.

2. De bevrijding van de vrouw, Werkgroep Man-Vrouw in de kerk, Amersfoort, 1973.

3. G. van Enckevort, C. Doerbecker and others, Leermotivaties en leerorientaties van volwassen Nederlanders, Amersfoort, 1973.

4. H.H. Frese, "Permanent education, a strategy of social action", in Permanent Education, Council of Europe, Strasbourg, 1970.

5. R.A.C. Hoksbergen, Profiel van de avondlyceist, Meppel, 1972.

6. R.A.C. Hoksbergen, publicaties in Intermediair 8 en 9, 1974.

7. Ph. J. Idenburg, Schets van het Nederlands Schoolwezen, Groningen, 1964.

8. D. Kallen and others, Recurrent Education, a strategy for lifelong learning, OECD, Paris, 1973.

9. J.E. KoolSmit, De moeder van Marie kan méér, Amersfoort, 1973.

10. R. Kroes, Arbeiderskinderen en het middelbaar onderwijs, Meppel, 1971.

11. The Limits to Growth, a report for the Club of Rome Project, New York, 1972.

12. J.H. Ligteringen, "Enkele notities inzake de externe democratisering van het Onderwijs" in Evangelie en Maatschappij, 27e jrg. nr. 2, febr. 1974.

13. M.A.J. Matthijsen, Klasse-onderwijs, sociologie van het onderwijs, Deventer, 1971.

14. "Memorandum Avondcolleges aan Vaste Kamercommissie", 1974.

15. "Nota Inzake Onderwijs en Arbeidsmaatregelen voor werkende jongeren", Den Haag, 1970.

16. "Nota over de instructieve omroep", Den Haag, 1971.

17. "Nota Open School", Den Haag, 1973.

18. Netty Rosenfeld, Ze bestaan echt..., Amsterdam, 1973.

19. Ouders en beroepskeuze van hun kinderen, I.T.S., Nijmegen, 1967.

20. Tien jaar Teleac, Rotterdam, 1973.

21. Uitgangspunten voor onderwijsbeleid, Publicatie Wiardi Beckmanstichting, Deventer, 1973.

22. Unesco, Learning To Be, (Leren om te leven), Spectrum, Utrecht, 1974.

SPAIN

by

Pedro Luis Gomis Díaz

The five main questions which have been raised about adult education in Spain will be studied, both in the context of the present situation and insofar as they affect future plans.

The first of these questions which asks about the importance of the fact that adults do not participate in educational programmes in Spain calls for an answer which is necessarily limited by certain values. It is clear that the problem is one of great importance; it is both a human problem involving millions of people and an educational one. If development is the main strategy in politics in the world today, then education must be the main strategy for development.

However, having situated education as the driving force, the nerve centre, of social transformation, it is only logical that the problem should vary according to the direction and purpose of this social transformation. Hence the lack of adult participation in further education has varied consequences.

Grosso modo it is possible to define three main stages in modern western education. The first stage is that in which education is vocationally oriented, linking practical training (general education for minorities) with the guild system which is perpetuated today in professional apprenticeships and in on-the-job training. A second stage corresponds to the awakening of the Welfare State. It implies that, as all have a right to the minimum standard of living, so everyone should have a right to the minimum level of education which the standard of living allows. In fact, this has taken the form of the primary schooling which is now compulsory in every western country. The third stage, which comes with the acceptance of "social" well-being, is that of "continuing education" going beyond the minimum limit. Education is becoming independent of economic rights with pre-established limits and is making incursions into the field of social rights where quality prevails over quantity and where it is not only necessary to justify the "what" but also the "why" and the "wherefore". Education is seen as a permanent, unfinished task continuing throughout life, going beyond the strictly vocational limits (of industrial society) and leading on towards what we may loosely term "the good life".

In Spain today these three historical stages of education still exist side by side. This is symptomatic of a society which is experiencing the consequences of so-called industrial revolution in which, as Diebold put it, the future horizon is that of a post-industrial society.(1)

The current training schemes, which are being revised, date from 1944 but were amended in 1955 by the "Ley de formación industrial". The word "industrial" indicates the scope of this law. Training for industrial occupations is given to those who have the minimum requirements set out in the Law of 9th September, 1857. This Law makes elementary education compulsory for all and requires parents, tutors and guardians to send their children or wards between the ages of 6 and 12 to State schools.(2) The third stage was introduced by the new "Ley de Educación General" of 4th August, 1970. The ultimate aim is to construct a lifelong educational system which will not select a few students but will develop to the maximum the capabilities of each and every one.(3)

The problem posed by the non-participation of adults in education programmes in Spain is, therefore, to a large extent, the same as that in most countries with liberal regimes. It is the problem of the co-existence of different educational structures with different purposes creating an evolutive process in which social progress is limited by attitudes which accept the past but are not rigidly tied to it. Moreover, the problem is not just a qualitative one; there is the question of defining not only the limits of initial education but also those of continuing education.

---

1) A study of modern educational policy in Spain in four periods (1857-1924, 1924-1955, 1955-1970 and 1970 to the present day) is to be found in a doctoral thesis "La formación profesional de los trabajadores en España y en la CEE", Vol. 12: "La formación profesional de los trabajadores en Espana". The study in preparation will comprise nine volumes and concentrate on vocational training activities.

2) According to Art. 9 of the Law of 1857, free elementary education is to be provided in State schools for children whose parents, tutors or guardians are not able to pay for it. To benefit from this free schooling, a certificate had to be obtained from the Parish Priest and stamped by the Mayor of the town. Art. 7 specifies that children must go to school between the ages of 6 and 12 unless they are given suitable instruction at home or in private institutions. An idea of the effective scope of this Law can be gained from the fact that in 1960 there were still 2,940,000 illiterates in Spain. Cf. "Datos y cifras de la enseñanza en España", Vol. I, 1971, page 148.

3) Cf. "Exposición de los motivos de la Ley 14/1970 de 4 agosto, General de Educación y Financiamiento de la reforma educativa". Art. 9.1. indicates that the education system will provide a single educational process and will make it possible to continue throughout life, thus meeting the need for continuing education in modern society.

Although one may be in favour of educational plans, a society where there is to be continuing education requires not only resources of all kinds but time. The importance of this factor which is easily forgotten should be emphasized. In dealing with adults, the example of the level of illiteracy in Spain is a useful one.

The most pessimistic statistics show that in 1970 there were 2,442,000 illiterates in Spain (9.8 per cent of the population compared with 56.2 per cent in 1900, 32.4 in 1930 and 23.1 per cent in 1940).(1) Of this total almost one million were aged over 66 and one-and-a-half million over 55, which suggests that population renewal will do as much to eliminate illiteracy as the increase in compulsory schooling which is now almost total under the compulsory "Educación General Básica". Percentages of the relevant age group in compulsory schooling are as follows: 1952: 71.7 per cent; 1962 82 per cent; 1966: 88 per cent; and 1972: 96 per cent. To this must be added the teaching given to adults at this level (95,443 in 1970, 102,694 in 1971 and 127,932 in 1972). Therefore, if the level of illiteracy continues to fall at this rate (0.4 per cent per year during the period 1960-1970) it is reasonable to think that it will not be eliminated entirely until 1995, but the rate of disappearance is increasing - it has been higher during the last three years - and as the population is being renewed, so it is possible to state, without having recourse to complicated statistical calculations, that there will be no illiterate adults in Spain, even in the oldest section of the population, by 1978 (or 1982 at the latest).

THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM. THE PRIORITY GROUPS

The nature of the problem

The co-existence of different educational structures means that there are two important "battlefields" - the administrative and the economic - and there are not only national but also international consequences.

The administrative "battle" is illustrated by the distance which separates general education from vocational training. In the Spanish Administration, the "Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia" is concerned with general education for adults and with university-type vocational education while the "Ministerio de Trabajo" and, where appropriate, the "Ministerio de Agricultura" deal with vocational training programmes for adults with a view to meeting social advancement and economic requirements. Recently (Decree of 14th March, 1974), the "Ministerio de Educación" was made clearly and exclusively

---

1) The most optimistic quote 4.7 per cent in 1969. The "Libro Blanco", which was the incentive behind the 1970 reforms, stated that in 1969 there were 640,000 illiterates over the age of 14.

responsible for academic courses in vocational training subjects and it was recognised that "educational courses of a vocational nature which do not lead to an academic qualification could be established on a free basis, with the sole requirement that the 'Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia' be informed". In this way, the distance between the various administrative bodies collaborating in this work is being reduced and a co-ordination policy has been implemented with the setting up of a "Comisión sobre Relaciones entre Política Educativa y Política de Empleo" within the "Comisión Nacional de Empleo" and a "Junta Coordinadora" has been set up within the "Ministerio de Educación Nacional" to deal with vocational education.

Another traditional aspect of the administrative battle is the difference between State and private education and certain other factors come into play as well. Although the principle of State subsidies has been maintained, it is a fact that the State is playing an increasingly important role in initial education and training, although with regard to adults the private centres and the trade unions fulfil an important social function which complements the efforts being made by the "Ministerio de Trabajo" in the design of national vocational advancement plans for adult workers. This training is currently provided for more than 200,000 Spanish workers every year.

The economic struggle is without doubt the most important in Spain, as is the case in other countries. If economics is the science of the scarcity of resources, continuing education is potentially able to absorb a large part of the general State budget. No country invests in education beyond a level of more than 30 per cent in view of the economic crisis which would result in the short and medium terms, but it is significant that medium-length courses lasting two or three years are becoming introduced as a temporary formula in various countries, including Spain, since they meet necessary economic criteria.

In Spain, despite the constant increase in the education budget which accounts for 15 per cent of the 1974 general State budget, the average attained in the EEC countries (22 per cent) has not yet been reached and of the 100,249 million pesetas provided under the "III Plan de Desarrollo, 1972-1975", 1,165.5 millions have been allocated for adult vocational training and 1,103.7 millions for various continuing and special educational programmes, while the largest allocation is for general elementary education: 48,931.2 million pesetas.

The first choice to be made in view of the extremely limited resources available for education is therefore that of whether to provide proper education and vocational training for all the younger sections of the population while carrying on limited "compensation" plans for adults and the workers' vocational training programmes which

Table 1

EDUCATIONAL EXPENDITURE AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE STATE BUDGET

Year	General State Budget(x)	Education Budget(x)	%	Year	General State Budget(x)	Education Budget(x)	%
1935	5,103	336	6.60	1966	168,801	21,520(1)	12.75
1940	7,159	394	5.51	1967	204,290	21,261(1)	10.40
1945	13,233	634	4.79	1968	237,800	27,030(1)	11.36
1950	18,052	1,414	7.83	1969	271,795	37,200(1)	13.68
1955	31,955	2,627	8.22	1979	309,758	45,384(1)	14.53
1960	65,566	5,618	8.57	1971	370,168	61,918(1)	16.72
1964	120,843	13,792(1)	11.41	1972	419,330	63,739(1)	15.20
1965	136,781	14,500(1)	10.60	1973	474,283	70,201(1)	14.80

x) Millions of pesetas.

1) Including the P.I.O. Fund.

Cf. Fernández Cantos, José Luis "Presupuesto Estatal de Educación, Informe Apis, 1973, page 23.

Table 2

GENERAL SUMMARY OF ESTIMATED EXPENDITURE
(in millions of pesetas)

Section: Education and Science	State estimates 1973	State estimates 1974
Chapter 1	35,296,179	46,781,480
2	2,921,872	3,112,606
3	-	-
4	-	-
5	8,693,812	13,066,717
6	719,200	709,000
7	17,618,100	17,425,400
8	2,000	2,000
9	-	-
Total:	65,251,163	81,097,203

Source: B.O.E. 25-XII-72 - Ley 22-XII-72 No. 35/72
B.O.E. 21-XII-73 - Ley 19-12-73 No, 31/73.

In 1973 these totals represented 13.7 per cent of the General State Estimates (474,283,000,000 pesetas) and 14.6 per cent in 1974 (551,698,000,000 pesetas). The P.I.O. Fund (Patronato de igualdad de Oportunidades) has not been included. This fund is used to provide education grants and scholarships.

require long-term investment, or whether, on the contrary, to maintain acceptable basic schooling rates and encourage some adult vocational training, which would result in economic rather than social development in the short term.

In 1970 Spain opted for the first solution maintaining and even increasing the important adult workers' vocational training programmes when new sources of financing would have allowed the rapid and efficient implementation of the new Law(1) which today gives priority to general elementary education and primary vocational training.

These remarks lead to a consideration of the groups of adults who should be given priority treatment in educational policy.

Groups of adults deserving priority treatment

Any attempt to establish priorities presupposes the existence of various criteria and implies the simultaneous consideration of more than one criterion since, at the very least, it is necessary to juggle with inadequate economic resources. However, the following groups, among others, should be considered.

Educational discrimination

This covers those adults who, for various reasons, have not had the opportunity of acquiring either the general elementary education necessary for life in the community or any elementary training through the normal educational channels, such as that provided today by the free compulsory education system.

In Spain, a first group would be made up of those adults who have not had any elementary education at the proper time, and who currently do not have the certificate of primary studies ("Graduado Escolar"). To give an approximate figure, which is by no means exact, the "functional illiterates", as defined under the UNESCO terminology, number almost two million at the present time and one-and-a-half million of these are over the age of 55 as indicated above.

The second group includes the "occupational illiterates".(2) Even after the introduction of compulsory free vocational training

---

1) "In the second and third additional provisions of the draft (B.O. of the Spanish Cortes 2[illegible]-X-69) it was stated that the highest income groups in the nation should give special assistance to Education (so that it should be free for all) by means of a general income tax, a tax of 10 per cent on profits of companies exceeding 6 per cent of the fiscal capital, an increased tax on company business, etc. However, all these measures, which were both concrete and practical, were suppressed by the "Ponencia y Comisión de Hacienda de las Cortes" and the Law now contains, in their place, a general statement of goodwill to the effect that the State will give preferential consideration to the allocation of resources for the progressive and total implementation of the Law. It seems that a great opportunity for making education available on a more democratic basis for general progress and for social justice was lost on this occasion." Cf. J.L. Fernándes Cantos. Presupuesto Estatal de Educación, Informe Apis, op. cit. pages 23-24.

2) See Borrajo Dacruz, Efrén. "El Plan Nacional de Promoción Profesional de Trabajadores ante el IV Plan de Desarrollo Económico y Social". Report to the Round Table Meeting on Development and Employment, Madrid, December 1973, pages 4 et seq.

(primary level) for all Spaniards, the "III Plan de Desarrollo" indicated that there were 2,080,000 occupational illiterates at the beginning of the period, i.e. in 1972.(1)

The statistics do not indicate whether the two groups overlap, i.e. whether the same people lack both general education and vocational training, or whether the opposite is true, but maximum and minimum figures can be obtained by adding or subtracting the figures.

At this point it should be mentioned that there were young people who were just reaching the age of 18 at a time when the "Ley General de Educación" was being implemented but who did not benefit from its provisions. Between 1972 and 1975 there were some 1,600,000 of them.

Economic and occupational discrimination

If it may be assumed that occupational discrimination is the clearest indication of economic discrimination, the following groups can be distinguished:

a) those currently employed,
b) those currently under-employed;(2)
c) those who are currently employed but who, if they are to continue to be employed, will have to be retrained (calculations must be made in the short and medium terms).

In the "III Plan de Desarrollo, 1972-1975", it was estimated that 1,200,000 people would have to be retrained and the unemployment figure at the end of 1973 was 137,309 (1.06 per cent of the working population). There were 14,603 unemployed in agriculture, 51,340 in industry, 42,703 in the building trades and 28,663 in the service industries. Estimated unemployment affected 159,759 workers compared with 208,318 at the same time in 1972, according to the official figures supplied by the "Ministerio de Trabajo".(3) Reliable figures for the level of under-employment are not available.

---

1) This figure was obtained from a projection of the 1964-1969 statistics published by the "Encuesta de poblacion activa, volumen de peonaje, 1972". A 20 per cent reduction was then made to allow for the estimated percentage over 60 years (= 15.7 per cent) and for the expected losses due to premature retirement, invalidity and death (4.3 per cent for those under 60). Cf. "La promoción profesional de adultos en el III Plan de Desarrollo Economico y Social" Madrid, April 1971, page 18.

2) In relation to their education and training, whether full-time, part-time or temporary.

3) Report on labour policy during the third quarter of 1973, "Ministerio de Trabajo", Madrid, 1974, page 2.

Social discrimination

Under this heading it has always been usual to include adults over the age of 40 in view of the difficulties they encounter when looking for new employment, the handicapped and, lastly, the female population. In spite of the fairer and egalitarian ideal norm, sex discrimination is still encountered as a result of the resolute attitude adopted by some employers and as a consequence of the traditional social concept which considered a woman's maternal duties could not be combined with professional activity outside the home. For these groups, educational programmes can contribute to their social advancement.

The figures for this section of the population are shown in the following table.

Table 3

ADULTS SUBJECT TO SOCIAL DISCRIMINATION

Group	Year	Total population	Working population	% total population/ total working population	% working population/ working Spanish population
Over 40 years of age(1)	1971	6,186,900	4,703,600	18.2	37.1
Handicapped	1974	1,200,000		3.5	
Women over 18 years of age(2)	1971	11,486,700	2,555,000	33.8	20.1

1) Source: Encuesta de Población Activa 1971, I.N.E. Madrid, 1973.

2) Source: Encuesta de Población Activa 1971, I.N.E. Madrid, 1973. The figures include women of 20 years of age as the age-groups used in this census were: under 15, 15-19, and over 20.

ACTION ON ADULT EDUCATION

An attempt to study this problem has been made in four reports entitled "El analfabetismo en España" (Illiteracy in Spain), "Las enseñanzas de Educación General Básica y Bachillerato para Adultos" (General Elementary Education and the Bachillerato for Adults), "Los estudios universitarios para adultos" (University Courses for Adults), "La formación profesional de adultos" (Adult vocational training). These reports take into account the level of education among adults and describe the current decisions taken in educational policy in this respect. They do not make any reference to specialised education(1) or to cultural programmes in view of the fact that it would be impossible even to try to mention the various publicity campaigns undertaken in libraries, television clubs, educational cinemas, through books, spare-time educational activities and in various companies.(2) Suffice it to say that since 1969, when the "Libro Blanco de la Educación Española" clearly stated that there was a need for the educational forum introduced in 1970, these activities have been better co-ordinated although they have not been greatly increased and this has avoided duplication of effort and knowledge among those organising the programmes.

Critical observations on adult education policy

The "Ley General de Educación" of 1970 constituted the most important step in modern Spanish history towards the achievement of better education not only for the young but also for adults. Nevertheless this step implied the awakening of an awareness to the educational problem by the administrative authorities rather than by

---

1) The first section of the "Ley General de Educación" of 1970 includes a chapter on special education (Cap. VII, Arts. 49-53 inclusive). According to Art. 49, special education "is designed to give suitable training to all those who are backward or otherwise ill-adapted so that they can eventually play as full a part as possible in the life of the community, depending on the circumstances and the outcome of their education, and also in the employment system, enabling them wherever possible to help themselves and feel that they are useful to society. Special attention is to be given to those who are academically gifted". The duties of the "Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia" with regard to this special education are listed in Art. 50:

   - To establish "the means for localising and diagnosing those students in need of special education". For this purpose, a census is to be taken "by the medical and education services and by the educational and vocational guidance services, with the assistance of the teaching staff".
   - "To train the necessary teachers and other staff".
   - To collaborate "with the programmes of other ministries, 'organisations and associations' or private individuals pursuing these aims", taking into account "the aptitudes and developmental capabilities for each backward or ill-adapted child and not his age" (Art. 52).

   Later, the "Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia" recruited special education assistants for the school year 1973/1974 in application of the Order of 28th June, 1973 on the "Constitución del Servicio de Acción Formativa" of the "Ministerio de Trabajo", including among its other duties the provision of vocational training and rehabilitation for the under-privileged. Art. 2 of the Order of 27th December, 1973 expands upon the previous Decree and specifies in paragraph 2.a that one of its duties is "to attend to the vocational training of the under-privileged who are receiving financial assistance from the social security services".

2) See "Educación permanente de adultos en España a nivel de Educación General Básica", "Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia". Madrid, 1973, page 4.2 "Promoción cultural".

society itself, or more precisely by the leading groups in society. These groups were reluctant to contemplate far-reaching reforms affecting the financial resources, which, in fact, make it possible to educate those under 16 and to give "compensatory" education to those who have been subject to cultural discrimination and have consequently suffered socially.(1)

The level of contributions made to vocational training by Spanish companies is still the same as it was in 1954 and it is the State funds for education which have increased faster than those from other sources; this was yet another aspect which had to be borne in mind when the proposed taxation reforms were prepared.

The following observations may be made:

i) The literacy campaign programmes which were started in 1963 have been significantly reduced since 1968(2) while those programmes aimed at the certificate of primary studies ("Graduado Escolar")(3) have been continued, so that the situation has become more stable without this being due in any positive way to the 1970 Law. To a large extent it is the result of the administrative reorganisation carried out under the Law and of the fact that priority has been given to providing general elementary education and initial vocational training for all young people.

ii) The lack of real opportunities for adults to study for the Bachillerato.

iii) The rigid implementation and development of what the Law terms the "continuing education of adults" has resulted in a policy which often concentrates on the centres which are to be set up, on the requirements these must meet and on the teaching staff to be employed rather than on the courses to be given and the type of student to be reached. This does not mean that these (partly State) criteria are sovereign, but consideration of them is hindering the development of quite a few programmes which, although they would be beneficial, are not among those which have been given priority.

---

1) See Iglesias Selgas, Carlos: "La reforma fiscal como medio de financiación de la educación" in Informe Apis, 1973, pages 25-26.

2) "Campaña Nacional de Alfabetización y Promoción cultural de adultos". Illiterate adults: 1964: 262,131; 1965: 181,067; 1966: 210,110; 1967: 216,630; 1968: 95,399; 1969: 49,398; 1970: 39,199; 1971: 46,456; and 1972: 30,588. The total number of illiterate adults during this period was 1,131,078. Cf. "Datos y Cifras de la enseñanza en España" vol. I, 1972, page, 150.

3) Adults who obtained their certificate of primary studies: 1964: 118,006; 1965: 195,612; 1966: 201,997; 1967: 122,540; 1968: 78,251; 1969: 109,495; 1970: 95,443; 1971: 102,694; and in 1972: 127,932. Total 1,151,970 adults.

It would therefore be valuable if the Government, having decided on the order of priorities for general elementary education and for initial vocational training, could provide these programmes not only for the young but also for adults who have not had this basic education. This has not yet been [illegible] any definite way.

iv) The difficulty in establishing medium-term employment forecasts in Spanish companies has meant that workers' vocational training programmes are not always suited to the requirements laid down in the employment policy. This is particularly true in the case of retraining and, moreover, the margin of tolerance has been further reduced by geographical criteria as a result of labour movements and the introduction of priority zones within the framework of the regional development policy.

In recent years, the "Ministerio de Trabajo", through the "Direcciones Generales de Promoción Social y Empleo" has encouraged labour forecasts based on surveys in industry and on other sources of information such as the daily press,(1) in an attempt to suit educational policy to the present and potential needs of the country's population. The way is now open but the effect of economic policy on the development of a company still causes serious fluctuations and makes these forecasts more difficult at a time when they are becoming essential if the best use is to be made of existing resources.

In any case, in spite of the observations made above, it may be stated that:

i) the administrative authorities responsible for education are now more dynamic and less centralised;

ii) the content of educational programmes is more dynamic, following the division into cycles, areas and units;

iii) a co-ordinated policy has been developed at ministerial level between the State and private education systems and between these systems and the employers;

iv) education has been made available on a wider social and democratic basis, as was implied by the complementary (and not parallel) status given to vocational training by the new law;

---

1) The "Dirección General de Promoción Social" has recently produced two forecasts on the employment situation "Encuesta a empresas sobre ocupaciones nuevas y en transformación" (Dpto. de Planificación y Valoración de Resultados del PPO", Madrid, 1973) and "Analisis de los puestos de trabajo a través de los anuncios individualizados en la prensa diaria, Febrero-Julio 1973". (During this period more than 124,000 jobs were vacant). This analysis was published by the "Gabinete de Estudios PPO" in Madrid in 1974. The Dirección General de Empleo" has also carried out a survey of companies employing more than 200 staff and the results are given in "Provisiones de mano de obra para 1974-1976", Madrid, 1974.

v) free compulsory education has been extended; under the Law of 1945 it was available to children up to the age of 14 and this limit was raised to 16 by the 1970 Law;

vi) the policy for scholarships and grants has been extended (600 million pesetas in 1961-62, increasing to 3,000 million in 1970-71 and 4,300 million in 1973-74);(1)

vii) 1,000,000 school places will be provided between 1970 and 1975;

viii) continuous assessment and experiments in self-assessment will be extended.

Lastly, it should be said that research and vocational guidance are still the two weak points in the present Spanish educational system and are of great importance for both young people and adults.

Remarks on future policy and educational programmes which should be introduced in the near future

An attempt will be made to indicate some guidelines for the short and medium term. The basis will be the continuation and improvement of current policy and, in due course, the long-term parameters for continuing education, although any approach to long-term development must be rather tentative. A situation where everyone is in fact given a primary education and some initial vocational training and has an equal opportunity to continue this initial education presupposes a different form of society from the present one and, consequently, another form of social leadership.(2) Obviously it is not a question of defining this but of indicating that there has to be another way of life with a different hierarchy of values and with different criteria from the present ones for determining prestige and social status.

It seems reasonable to hope nevertheless that in 1985 all adults will have completed the compulsory educational programmes, using various methods with active teaching techniques suited to their particular requirements, not because this will given them diplomas or certificates but because they will have been able to lock at all aspects of their lives - personal, family, professional and social - from a whole new range of viewpoints.

It would also seem reasonable to hope that all adults will be offered not only the means of carrying out various types of studies but will be given the opportunity of benefiting from them - the working day could be rearranged so that recurrent education and work could be combined.

---

1) Romero Marin Anselmo "Sistemas de ayuda al estudio", *Informe Apis op. cit*. pages 40-41.

2) See "La educación permanente: mito o realidad?" in which the effects of continuing education on policy, economic structures and culture are examined.

It is reasonable to expect that Spanish companies will play their proper social role, which is a function that is sometimes forgotten. Companies should be directly involved in continuing training because it is necessary in itself. Moreover, they would, in time, be able to collaborate with the education and training given by the administration and the trade unions who are concerned about these needs as well as the increasing needs for retraining. This would mean a redistribution of individual responsibilities and of those of the unions, companies and administrative authorities involved in the common task of continuing education.

It would also be necessary to consider, and this is already the case, the development of a co-ordinated policy which would recognise educational leave in companies and part of this leave would be granted for the employee to follow training courses. This would constitute the main method of achieving continuing education by combining interests and educational requirements of all kinds.

The State is currently taking a direct part, perhaps influenced by the need to defend its own budget, but society has not taken up the challenge of continuing education and here there is a link with the future inasmuch as it is possible to think of State education becoming social education. Continuing education goes beyond the responsibility of any type of government, and in Spain as in other countries it needs to be given a social direction and purpose and to be planned from a social standpoint where the person as the subject (the social forces) is involved in the attempt to democratise education with the person who is the object.

It is most probably committees of adults, parents, teachers, students and workers, who will promote education within a framework of rules accepted by all and equivalent to a set of constitutional principles, at all levels and for all age groups, following the formula already envisaged for private foundations, colleges and study centres. Adults will ensure the continuation of their education, leaving to the Government the task of providing primary education for the young while participating in its planning and control.

A more education-minded society has a great deal to say in educational policy because education, as was said earlier, is the driving force behind economic and social development.

It remains for the Government to initiate the first stage of awakening society and encouraging adults to play their part not as the recipients of an education which they were unable to obtain earlier or of the training which they need for a new job but as the protagonists of continuing education and as its promoters.

As Yvon Chotard recently said, if social policy is not a luxury in an affluent age then education is not a luxury in an affluent society but rather the expression of a more responsible society and the lynch-pin of future social policy.

UNITED KINGDOM

by

Stuart Marriott

I. THE REVIVAL OF CONCERN

Adult education in Britain has always been committed in principle to egalitarianism and social betterment. At the same time it has always been clear that without a close monitoring of promotional and organisational methods these aims are only too easily compromised; consequently the history of adult education shows cyclical revivals of concern for the excluded and the educationally underprivileged. These revivals have also tended to occur in the context of similar disturbances on the wider political and social scene.

In recent years we have seen an upsurge of social protest, a mood that has characteristically refused to express itself through the major political parties and the conventional devices of representative democracy. There has been increasing criticism of the remoteness and unresponsiveness of national and local government. There is irritation at the increasing power of technical experts and their failures of consultation and communication. The social and educational services have come under attack, and many professionals in these fields have developed a new awareness of the political dimensions of their work. The demands of minority groups have been more aggressively pressed. "Community action", "confrontation" and "politicisation" are fashionable slogans and tactics.

Adult education has experienced a corresponding revival of agitation. Characteristic of the early 1970s has been an increasing concern with the claims of the "disadvantaged", an untidy but obviously widely attractive concept. The most striking symbol has been the growth of innovative adult educational work in poorer urban areas, but the range of reassessment is much wider than that.

This mood appears to have formed in the late 1960s and began to express itself in lively debate and publication from about 1971. These developments took place significantly after a period in which adult educational provision had shown a rapid and easy growth, but not much evidence of a concern with purposes and justification. A number of origins may be suggested for the revived sense of social purpose.

The adult education tradition

An important stimulus was already present in that adult education has traditionally claimed to be concerned with equality, participation and social amelioration. The Workers' Educational Association and some university extra-mural departments have tried to sustain some kind of commitment to working-class education, social relevance and the "open door". A minority of local education authorities have tried to give a "community" dimension to their adult educational provision.

Industrial education

During the 1960s there was much enthusiasm for developing adult education for industrial workers. The period saw new methods of co-operation between employers, trade unions and educational bodies. There was a rapid increase in day-release arrangements, and some experimenting with classes at the place of work. Despite strong pressure to confine this work to the immediate problems of industrial relations and negotiation a broader and more liberal policy has frequently been retained.

Social relevance projects

At this same period there was renewed interest in a quite long-recognised method of adult education - the study-research project into problems of local urgency. Thus there were produced substantial studies of urban poverty in Nottingham and of the housing of coloured immigrants in Leeds. These projects sometimes became more than excursions in adult educational methodology and were promoted into a challenge to the profession at large over matters of policy and priority.

Educational sociology

British sociologists have traditionally been preoccupied with the unequal distribution of social, including educational resources and benefits. From Early Leaving (1954) onwards their ideas and methods began to influence the shape of official thinking and government reports on education. Talk about social and cultural disadvantage has become part of the jargon of education. At the same time a proto-sociology of adult education was beginning to emerge. From Tranaman's early work to the NIAE survey "Adequacy of Provision" it was becoming more and more difficult to ignore the serious imbalance in effective access to and participation in adult education.

110

Neo-radicalism

Some activities in adult education have become caught up in the loosely connected movement of social protest, community action and liberation. There has been an increase in full-time staffing levels and some of the newer recruits may have been attracted by what they saw as the chance for an active, purposeful career outside the restraints of the formal education system.

Community development

Concepts and strategies of community development, whether from North America or the Third World have become partly naturalised in British welfare practice. They have been taken as a criticism of adult education as it has emerged historically, in that they raise questions about whether the latter has an adequate social technology for delivering a service consistent with its grander aims.

These influences come out of a concern for the just claims on behalf of the socially underprivileged. They all contribute to the widespread feeling that the most important advances in adult education will be in the area of "disadvantage"; that the profession must learn how to respond where it is most needed rather than where it is most popular.

II. WHO ARE THE NON-PARTICIPANTS?

The short answer is "Over ninety per cent of the adult population at any given time". Even accepting that only a limited proportion of this huge remainder can be attracted into broadly educational activities, and that resources cannot be stretched beyond fairly close limits, the inequity and accidental nature of the present pattern is obvious. Again and again we have been reminded that the small percentage who do involve themselves happen to be those who have a spontaneous interest in self-development; frequently they have a larger than average measure of previous educational experience. No one has dared to claim that they are the ones with the greatest need for the service they receive, but again no one has denied that they have any need of it.

There is a strong presumption that more explicit criteria of need should be framed and that provision should be redistributed in favour of the non-participants by removing social and cultural barriers to access. Since economic and social realities inevitably limit the total size of the adult education service we need to be clear which non-participants have a prior claim. Since the publication of the Russell Report(1) and Peter Clyne's work(2) it has been widely accepted that the notion of "disadvantage" can be used to identify them, but the term as commonly used is a rag-bag or lucky dip with little analytic and only the vaguest delimiting power. The tally of the disadvantaged is so varied and numerous that we are brought no nearer to a solution in matters of priority. Nevertheless it is true that if deliberate redistribution of provision is to be made it will inevitably have to be in favour of some of the members of this list.

Socially and culturally deprived

There appears to be considerable confusion about who is to be included in this category and why. A frequent assumption is that it denotes the hard-core, "rough" working class: unskilled and semiskilled workers and their families living in near-slums or unfavoured housing estates, areas beset by multiple social problems, community disintegration and a cognitively restricted way of life. Alternatively, it is argued that the whole working class is the client since it is collectively deprived in relation to an ascendant middle class. Or equally vaguely that the adult educationist should give first priority to urban working class communities.

We are also offered different accounts of why adult education has been so ineffective in the areas of social and cultural deprivation. In one view it is the image of adult education that is at fault, and the organisers who have failed to explore more imaginative ways of attracting newcomers into their programmes. If many working class people are suspicious of officialdom and disdainful of anything to do with "school" they are not likely to find conventional adult education centres and programmes attractive or psychologically accessible.

A more radical diagnosis is that adult education conceived as a "commodity" is simply alien and irrelevant to those with whom we wish to work. The injustice lies in the use of resources in a way that can be seen in advance to be highly discriminatory. The problem is to allow the deprived to use educational resources in a way that is meaningful to them. The solution is frequently seen in a dissolution of the normal concept of the programme and an integration of educational effort into a wider strategy of community action and development.

---

1) Department of Education and Science, Adult Education: A Plan for Development, HMSO, 1973.

2) Peter Clyne, The Disadvantaged Adult: Educational and Social Needs of Minority Groups, Longmans, 1972.

Other deprived minorities

Although the diagnosis of their situation and needs may be similar to that given above, good reasons can often be added for treating specific minority groups sui generis. Coloured immigrants provide an obvious example, and the question can be asked why adult education contributes so little to easing their problems of language, social isolation, health, welfare, schooling, legal rights and obligations. Other minority groups may be identified among the rejected and stigmatised who are the casualties of the social system, and who might be helped to live happier lives through appropriate forms of educational activity.

Adult illiterates

With the growth of community-based educational work there has come a recognition of the extent to which ordinary people may be deficient in basic educational skills and may find their lives correspondingly cramped and problematical. Illiteracy and near-illiteracy have been accepted as the priority problem, and have been shown to be more extensive than was previously suspected. Poor reading attainment was until recently treated solely as a criticism of the schools and as a difficulty affecting the immediate post-school years. Now it is accepted as a standing challenge to adult education. An Adult Literacy Resources Bill has been introduced before Parliament, and an announcement by the Secretary of State for Education is taken to mean that up to £1 million will be available to the voluntary bodies to support their adult literacy work.

The handicapped

There are many people who may wish to take advantage of conventional adult educational facilities but who are prevented by their specific disabilities. Educational managers have been encouraged to make the small but vital modifications to their premises, equipment and administration that would allow the physically and mentally handicapped to become involved. In added justification it is pointed out that the handicapped have a special call on educational services because of their inevitably restricted life patterns.

Some groups such as the emotionally disturbed may share problems with those referred to above as social casualties. Here there is the additional problem of devising new kinds of appropriate provision.

Clyne's work has documented the very uneven pattern of provision for the handicapped. It has also shown that with energy and goodwill a great deal can be achieved through normal channels.

Women

Women are over-represented in the total audience for adult education. Ironically this fact gives little satisfaction to egalitarians since women are so often enrolled in courses that confirm their conventional female roles. Girls enjoy the smaller share of benefit from schooling, further and higher education, and in adult life they continue to play a smaller part in the processes by which the public social world is controlled. Since women form at least half the adult population there seems to be small practical value in identifying them collectively as an educational priority. Nevertheless certain morals have been drawn for adult education. It has been recognised that "working class adult education" has hitherto been male-oriented and male-dominated, as in industrial studies programmes. Community education usually seeks to attract men and women equally, and may include schemes for helping women play a more decisive role in community organisation. There have been proposals to redistribute industrial studies resources in favour of working women, especially in view of the fact that increasing unionisation among women does not appear to have given them a greater say in the conduct of trade union affairs.

Access to formal courses and qualifications

Being an adult is in itself a serious educational disadvantage. Concern with the more visible and dramatic forms of deprivation has perhaps tended to inhibit theory-building about that large and amorphous body of citizens who wish or could be encouraged to enter (or re-enter) formal education in their mature years. Their needs and wishes have had an influence on the shape of adult education programmes, especially in the universities, but the implications have seldom been openly explored.

Mature students are deterred by the rigidity and unresponsiveness of the dominant institutions of post-compulsory education, institutions that most conveniently gear themselves to processing standard raw material. To pursue formal education beyond school it is not absolutely necessary but it is very helpful to be young, unmarried, not long out of school, childless, equipped with a standard list of previous qualifications and to be willing to study full-time. Despite the success of the Open University and pride taken in other local schemes for mature entry the scale of opportunity is still derisorily small. There are signs that more flexible arrangements may be made for the employed, the married and the "unqualified". There are also signs that universities and polytechnics are doubting the wisdom of staking their whole future on the batch processing of young specialists; their growing interest in continuing education and study in mid-career may be the thin end of a redistributive wedge.

When the range and variety of the educationally disadvantaged is listed the size of legitimate demand reveals itself as enormous. No ready-made solution to the problem of priority suggests itself. Nevertheless if a deliberate decision is made to redistribute adult educational opportunity the practical choices will lie within the limits of the list offered. Moreover, a great diversity of response is demanded in various areas and from various agencies.

If there is a generic problem of educational disadvantage it lies within the existing policies and practices of the adult education system and not in the potential audience. To this extent it is misleading to focus entirely on the "disadvantaged adult": we should also closely examine the unresponsive system.

III. WHAT WILL HAVE TO BE DONE?

At its broadest the problem is one of extending perceptions and suggesting more ambitious concepts of the role of adult education in modern society. What begin as domestic discussions of imbalance within existing adult education provision have a habit of turning into a critique of the whole post-compulsory system. The reason for this is that the adult educationist frequently operates on the boundary between formal institutions and the various "communities" that they serve. He is aware of the frustrations and unmet needs in the outside world and recognises that many of these can be traced back to the accidental and inevitable deficiencies of the formal system. Some of them can in fact be traced back to the rigidities of his own system.

There are signs that in this country we may be slowly moving towards more inclusive concepts of a process of recurrent or continuing education. The stimulus for this is not to be found in any high level policy or master plan but in the gradual convergence of ideas in a wide variety of separate institutions. If professional adult educationists are to play their due part in this process they must actively maintain the reassessment of their own practice that has taken shape over the last few years.

There will have to be a clearer recognition of what adult education can do in counteracting the rigidities of other institutions. At the same time there will have to be a candid examination of its own rigidities and the reasons for them.

An immediate priority is to pursue by practical means the objectives and priorities outlined above, and to incorporate as part of a sustained pattern the many experimental developments referred to in the following sections. One vital consideration will be finance. The Russell Committee proposed a large proportional increase in the total funding of adult education, its view apparently being that innovation should be encouraged through significant additions to the existing service. This is a comfortable solution in that it takes the present pattern as given and largely as self-justifying. There are however less comfortable possibilities. It could be argued that the existing pattern is basically inequitable and is a misdirection of public subsidy; innovation would then demand that we re-route a significant part of the finance already committed into new forms of provision. The same practical challenge to vested interests would arise if no extra funding could be made available, or if it proved inadequate to meet increasing costs, ambitions and expectations. Then the adult education service might have to consider abandoning or seriously modifying some of the work in which it has previously found its sense of security and success.

Whatever the financial environment, if a significantly redistributed pattern is to be achieved there are other risks to be taken. The newer forms of work that are being explored demand more imaginative forms of organisational supervision and they throw greater responsibility on the professional judgment of those directly involved. They require new forms of accountability and new systems of budgetary allocation. The familiar "safety-mindedness" of public bureaucracies may have to be actively resisted. There will be a need for a more selfconscious and sophisticated approach to the task of managing, rather than administering, adult education. This will involve the setting of objectives, greater explicitness in the allocation of resources and a willingness to design, re-design and scrap organisational methods as appropriate. Professionals in adult education are not well equipped to work in this way; their paymasters also have to be educated into more adventurous thinking.

The ideas and experiments to be described in the sequel show that with enthusiasm and adequate backing a great deal can be achieved. The problem for the immediate future is to secure agreement that the results are important, and to find ways of incorporating them into a sustained and "normal" pattern of operation.

IV. POLICY AND THE DIRECTION OF CURRENT INNOVATION

After a period of relatively easy growth adult education is now faced with the discomforts of reassessment. What sort of business are we in? Are our methods and performance commensurate with our ideals? Have we mistaken part of the task for the whole?

In Britain there is currently no national direction of adult education, and this is particularly true if one takes "policy" to imply broad thinking, the general analysis of social needs, the setting of high level objectives. In recent years politicians have made occasional references to the coming importance of adult education, but so far these can be taken to be little more than democratic or technocratic flag-waving.

In this country we are perhaps justifiably suspicious of the grand abstraction, for example of theoretical system-building such as *éducation permanente*, yet there is also little sign of a concern to frame a policy in the more immediate sense of practical commitment to particular, limited developments. The Russell Committee made a careful reading of the general economic climate and of the likely reactions of government and consequently produced a modest list of recommendations intended to build sensibly on what already existed. Their Report still awaits official action.

The failure to consider seriously the future of adult and continuing education contrasts oddly with the fact that further and higher education have until very recently been forced through some years of rapid growth. It also throws light on some of the confusions that post-compulsory education has created for itself. A rosy optimism suffused the early planning of expanded university and non-university higher education, and there was no proper anticipation of the problems that would arise in creating a new and ambiguous estate in society - the students. A commitment to continuing education was never identified as an important corrective to the unrealities of a system so feverishly devoted to the first few years of adulthood.

The penalities of ignoring adult education may be becoming obvious in another way. The expectation still appears to be that a greatly expanded but stable system of immediate post-school education can be created. Yet in Donald Schon's words we appear to be moving beyond the security of the "stable state" 1) The changes that have been engineered have a way of suggesting that yet more change is needed, and that no comfortable managerial equilibrium is in sight.

There is for example the problem of the pressure of numbers. Post-school education has been developed on two assumptions: that there is an economic need for more highly trained and educated manpower, and that public expectations of education beyond the school-leaving age are increasing. The very fact of expansion appears not to have satisfied social demands but to have kept them alive. Within the traditional system it has proved difficult to stretch familiar forms without loss of quality, and so there is a standing challenge to discover new modes and new media.

---

1) Donald A. Schon, *Beyond the Stable State*, Temple Smith, 1971 (The Reith Lectures, 1970).

A national policy of attempting to make immediate post-school education more democratic and accessible, for example through the binary system of higher education, has had the result of highlighting rather than diminishing our awareness of inequalities and maldistribution of opportunity. The Open University would provide a good study in the self-perpetuation of educational discontent. In its original conception it was, one might say, "adult educational" and appealed strongly to egalitarian sentiment. As it acquired its working apparatus its purposes became more closely defined. There is no doubt that it has seriously challenged received notions of academic content and syllabus design, but at the same time it has become something of an unusual, ordinary university, its chief contribution being a cost-conscious attack on the problem of expanding numbers in higher education. Its critics continue to be concerned about something it decided it could not achieve anyway - the radical redistribution of higher educational opportunity. The success of the Open University has nowise reduced the force of the argument that the facilities of ordinary universities should be made more open.

These and many more reasons suggest that adult and continuing education should be a natural part of future thinking about the post-school education system. Such a development would however have to appeal to a more imaginative conception of "adult education" than is embodied in the routine work of most of the agencies currently operating under that particular flag.

Fortunately this more imaginative conception is being explored, but at the local not the national level, and in small-scale experiment as much as in ideology or policy. The action is to be found in the Local Education Authorities, the voluntary bodies, university and WEA adult education programmes. It is from these local developments that we have to dig out the policy choices for a remodelled adult education system.

A number of local authorities have, for example, instituted schemes of "community education". These take varied organisational forms, but commonly express the idea that education is a sustained process and that educational resources should remain at the service of those who can make good use of them. Perhaps even more remarkable are the hundreds of local innovations in popular education, often initiated by individual organisers with or without the active support of the employing authorities.

Voluntary agencies have begun to challenge the system with a new awareness of the need and scope for continuing educational opportunity. One could instance the work of the British Association of Settlements in pressing the needs of adult illiterates. Many university extra-mural departments and WEA districts have instituted their own ad hoc projects in extending educational opportunity.

The Russell Report offered a guide to practicable policy developments, but working adult educationists have pointed out that it was out of date before it was published, and that what it identified as exciting possibilities were faits accomplis on a local scale up and down the country. Many professionals know what can be achieved; they are demanding a more definite and generous public commitment to this more varied and adventurous pattern of work.

What broad policy conceptions can be detected in the multifarious experiments that have been attempted? Three broad possibilities immediately present themselves.

A social service

The Russell Report tends to treat adult education as part of the provision that the Welfare State makes for its citizens. A definite expression of this view is also found in Clyne's work, which grew out of investigations undertaken for the Committee: it is coloured throughout by ideas deriving from welfare administration. The quite widespread acceptance of the view that the local authorities should be the major providers of adult education seems to imply a similar attitude.
Here adult education is deliberately redefined as a community provision midway between formal educational institutions and the orthodox social services. Furthermore, in the words of Russell, it is to be a national service locally administered. If such a service were a reality it would show two important characteristics:

a) the legal-administrative recognition of need and entitlement; the specific allocation of resources; the identification of agencies and professionals whose duty was to mediate between social resources and social needs;
b) a concern with "service-delivery": the service should be organised so as to distribute resources according to some criterion of need and not in response to exploitation by the articulate and socially skilled.

There are problems in identifying the appropriate content of an adult educational service of this kind, and of justifying its character as coherently educational. Beyond this there are critical questions to be asked about its relation to its presumed clients. Educational need is not always easily specified in the kind of languages used to describe health and welfare needs, and so the factor of demand is confused.
The thinking behind welfare-education is inadequate in its failure to confront the problems presented by the relationship between and the nature of need and demand. There is little

evidence that large numbers of people expect educational and cultural benefits in the way that they expect health and social security; the basic task of activation and the creation of expectations is still to be done. It may well be that given the pace of social change we should urgently begin to stimulate such expectations, but that would demand a programme rather different from that needed in administering an established service.

We might also ask whether provision by administrative fiat is an appropriate solution. The need for adult education arises partly from the rigidities and unresponsiveness of highly organised areas of public provision; it might therefore be unwise to push it into the same bureaucratising environment.

Local relevance

Here we find the confluence of a number of tributary influences, which include the work of the former Educational Priority Areas, community development and the attempt to "de-institutionalise" the social services. Adult education is seen as a contributor to the wider process of community development, and is given an intense local colouring. The pressing tasks to which it addresses itself are local self-determination in decision-making and access to the benefits produced by a wealthy society. Education may no longer be directed towards the personal development of individuals, but may be conceived as a resource directed towards helping groups solve problems they have set for themselves. Inputs are intended to have a broadly educative effect but are not made with directly educational objectives.

The practical and local orientation of work of this kind has been much influenced by "educational priority" thinking, which claimed that the conventional school curriculum and methodology were organised around middle-class values and purposes. Education was therefore an alien imposition on the people of working-class urban areas, and served only to intensify problems of cultural deprivation. The answer was held to lie in remodelling the educational experience in terms of local traditions, physical surroundings, problems and desires.

Adult education activities were given this same character, but they were also called on to perform another task, to influence the adults in the community so as to give changes at the school level a better chance of succeeding. Thus much informal adult education activity may be concerned with the school system and the community, formation of play groups, parent-school contacts, encouraging use of school premises and so on.

Another frequent component of this kind of community education is the attempt to "democratise" the arts and artistic experience.

Arts workshops are used to bring practising artists into a working class community, and to encourage ordinary people to explore various media on their own account. These projects may lead to imaginative exploration of the local environment and to spontaneous neighbourhood festivals.

The approach discussed in this section involves the assumption that formal administrations of all kinds are inherently laggardly, and easily develop habits of work that actually inhibit professed aims. The solution is often seen in more or less confrontational relationships between the disadvantaged and those who control public resources. Officially sponsored urban development schemes have themselves begun to recognise this view, and have extended ad hoc support in situations where results cannot be easily controlled and obviously "political" consequences may follow.

Reservations about intensely local, action-oriented provision cluster together in the anxious question posed by outsiders, "Is it recognisably adult education?" The educational contribution sometimes seems to be spread so thinly that it vanishes. Some critics also believe that the drive for intense local relevance may be in the long run anti-educational in that it confirms the separateness of the disadvantaged and their preoccupation with their immediate surroundings and problems.

Liberation and political education

Here we encounter a set of approaches that have developed partly in sympathy with and partly in reaction against local community education. They present education as a means of individual and group self-determination, but they see it as a vital process in its own rights, not as part of some broad social work enterprise. Indeed there may be an outright rejection of the nebulosities of community development and a return to more closely defined educational objectives that are recognisable in traditional terms.

The experience of education is concerned with acquiring knowledge, making informed judgments and conducting rational argument. In itself it is not necessarily partisan, but since it frees people from habit and ignorance it is bound to interact with political purposes. At the moment the socially and economically privileged virtually monopolise the benefits of education, which they implicitly use for their own political ends. Social justice demands that the deprived should be given every opportunity of access to the same benefits for them to use in pursuit of their own freely chosen ends.

One extension of this argument has a strongly Marxist tone. It exhorts the adult educationist to identify the working class as a whole as his major clientele, and to bring his academic resources to their aid in developing awareness of their position in society and skills in doing something about it. The starting point may lie in servicing practical activities, such as opposition to legislation, planning proposals and so on, but the objective is understanding of social and political realities in broader terms.

Others have emphasized the liberating role of education, acknowledged the reality of cultural deprivation and oppression, but refuse to align themselves with a particular political position or with a prescription for the direction that liberation should take. Clearly some adult educationists have been much impressed by the work and practice of Paulo Freire,(1) and consequently are seeking to concentrate on the processes of educational and cultural liberation that he identifies.

Such positions, Marxist or otherwise, are nothing new in British adult education. What is new is the attempt to apply them in working-class communities, among the ongoing routines of everyday social life, the informal groups and the voluntary associations. There is a commitment to community education, but with an emphasis on education and so ultimately on the broad understanding of what lies behind local issues and problems.

At the end of this section which has been so much concerned with the abstractions of policies and ideologies it is important to reassert a sense of the relationship between theorising and practice. One hears veiled accusations that some of the more loquacious theorists and publicists are living in an inverted pyramid, whose base at ground level is represented by quite small practical achievements. Other projects of considerable human value may have received little ideological elaboration and provided the text for few sermons.

V. INNOVATION AND THE ADAPTABILITY OF INSTITUTIONS

The first few years of this decade have therefore produced a new ferment of ideas in and about adult education. A revived concern with social responsibility and accessibility has produced demands for change that have been heard in all the established agencies; and it is to the credit of adult education that this reassessment has been generated almost entirely from within.

This scrutiny extends beyond the working methods of adult education and takes in the whole institutional ethos that has emerged from a long historical process. The more cautious doubt whether "adult

---

1) For example Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, Penguin Books, 1972.

education" as it exists institutionally can possibly, or legitimately be made to yield to many of the new proposals.

The service as presently constituted has grown up in close association with the formal institutions of education. In the past the local authorities were willing to treat their provision as an extension of the day school into the night school, and the ghost is difficult to lay. Although extra-mural departments have avoided aping the doings of the internal departments, they have nevertheless enjoyed and exploited their position as an annex of the university. The WEA, in the manner of long established, successful voluntary associations, has developed a fairly rigid institutionalism of its own.

It is often argued that in order to achieve significant redistribution of opportunity the agencies of adult education must break out of these institutional bounds. Its close association with the public educational system is said to raise a barrier against the very people it needs to involve. The non-participants do not see "education" as an appropriate form of personal and social satisfaction; many of them may evince an actual distaste, seeing it as an immature, dependent activity or an adornment of strangers who pursue a life-style quite alien to their own. Innovation at this level of reshaping the whole institutional ethos is indeed a major challenge.

The local education authorities have rarely designed an adult education service, they have allowed it to grow up. Administrative and managerial concepts from elsewhere in the educational system have provided the obvious forms of control; existing student demand has largely shaped the programme. The more novel possibilities that are now being suggested cannot be easily fitted into established routines.

The growing demand for leisure time and recreational provision has been paralleled by increasing recruitment of full-time, professional organisers. These new appointments have been used on the whole to improve the quality of what already exists, and to produce more of the same. Many professionals in the local authority sector have understandably developed a sense of competence through their skill in smoothly and successfully administering a system based on overt demand. Amid the pressures for novelty and change they may feel their achievements are being slighted, or that they are ill-equipped to undertake the new tasks suggested for them. Those who are keen to try new approaches commonly report that they have become embroiled in an administrative system that defeats their efforts.

Sociological research was responsible for the notion of the "enrolment economy" in adult education, but practitioners spontaneously recognise its nature and effects. Head-counting is the basis of budgetary methods, and is used to measure "effectiveness" in an area where criteria of success are notoriously vague. Although important changes have been introduced in individual authorities it remains true that rigid and detailed administrative forms are followed in order to maintain accountability. There may be strict minima laid down for viable class size; enrolment and registration procedures are enforced; formal definitions of what is a teaching situation and what are a teacher's responsibilities provide a major form of managerial control.

The practitioner enjoys little full-time administrative and educational support, and he frequently finds himself overburdened with low-level managerial routines that tie him physically and psychologically to his institution. No wonder that he often doubts the reality of his status as a "professional" adult educationist. Results show that a conventional programme can be successfully organised and indeed greatly expanded within such a system, but it is equally clear that the structure is not hospitable to the kinds of innovation discussed in this report.

Similar problems arise in the work of the responsible bodies. Central and local regulations have been evolved to tovern the spending of public money and to guarantee the educational character and quality of the programme. Ironically these regulations may now be experienced as inhibitions on imaginative and much needed development. Teaching staff are routinely expected to be occupied in a clear and definite programme of "classes". Classes in their turn are formally defined in terms of time, place, membership and registration of attendance. These methods of control are likely to be self-defeating when the aim is to extend adult education beyond its existing boundaries.

In the context of innovation the problem is the same as that in the local authority sector. Administrative forms are taken as given or as self-sustaining when they should in fact be designed to further a set of clearly acknowledged organisational objectives. Some of the objectives suggested in this report demand a rewriting of the organisation's means, and similarly imply novel concepts of professional responsibility and accountability.

At the same time institutions are not free to embrace whatever set of objectives is fashionable and currently exciting. They are constrained by the fact that they are specifically educational agencies, and agencies set up to work at a particular educational level. This is one source of controversy in the assessment of local authority schemes of "community education". It poses critical problems for what we might call "higher" adult education once it begins to explore its responsibilities to the disadvantaged and the community at large.

University adult education and much of the work of the WEA is intended to express a broad idea of liberal, intellectual study. Relevance and application may be quite eagerly sought, but the focus is on the manipulation, analysis and generation of ideas, on the preservation and development of an intellectual tradition. In the past this concern has been thought to impose severe restraints on what it is proper to pursue, hence the importance attached to remaining within the boundaries of a distinctive competence. How is such a competence to be put at the service of those who spontaneously do not wish to take advantage of it?

The question has become even more confused because of the changing climate of higher education generally. The idea of "distinctive competence" in education often provides a butt for radical hostility. Elitism is no longer associated only with the vagaries or deliberate manipulation of the recruitment process, but is also detected in anything that is admitted to be demanding and therefore limited in appeal. At the present time we seem to be experiencing a collapse of morale with regard to what were once the unquestioned informing ideas of higher education.

University adult educationists therefore find themselves in an uncomfortable position. They are caught between demands to be more accessible and responsive, the need to preserve some significance in being part of university education, and the awareness that there is much legitimate criticism being levelled at the universities as they actually operate. In attending to demands on behalf of the non-participants they have had to map a number of possible routes through this maze.

One solution is in fact quite traditional - a strategy of educational gradualism. Work that is in some senses "unworthy" of the parent institution is made legitimate because it is a means of gaining contact and confidence among strangers. This acquaintance process is intended to lead people on to more closely organised and demanding learning experiences. Some recent experiments have thus been rewriting the ideas that lay behind the officially sanctioned "pioneer work" of the 1930s.

Another justification is that it is important for adult education to remain active at the growing margins. By conventional standards some of the work may seem dubious, but the activists see themselves as involved in the upbringing of a legitimate recruit to higher education. In the past social and industrial history were fostered in this way. Perhaps the current emphasis is not so much on the discovery of new academic fields as on discovering new means of relating the academic intellect to its host society.

A third solution is to institutionalise the "experimental" character of the innovation, and to draw a distinction in policy between the content and the processes of what is undertaken. The strictly educational content of the project may be fairly limited, but it is argued that the planning, conduct and evaluation of the work require academic and professional skills of a high order. The implication is that if the experiment is successful it will be handed on to other agencies which can appropriately make it part of their regular work.

It is also possible to find a way by distinguishing "first line" and "second line" provision. Here a university accepts that it is not well adapted to directly servicing the disadvantaged, but that it can do a great deal to prod and support other statutory, voluntary and ad hoc bodies. University adult education then takes on a complex task of consultancy, training, organisation development and research.

A last solution is implicit in certain views on the future of higher education that have been produced quite outside adult education. It would involve the "comprehensivisation" of all education beyond the compulsory school-leaving age, and so would require university adult education to engage in a programme of partial self-destruction. If such a system were ever engineered it would presumably continue to need distinctive educational competencies but would remove many of the distinctions between educational institutions. Universities as places and as competitors for resources would lose their separate character. The comprehensive idea has been put forward in restrained and rather bureaucratic terms in a recent Labour Party green paper.(1) Other critics have been more forthright in demanding as an essential first step the active degrading of the universities.(2) If the essential political initiatives were mustered the implications for adult education would be profound. So far, however, we have been offered no account of what the extra-mural function of a system of comprehensive post-school education would be like. One can only speculate that it would be a largely administrative creation, and so would continue to face all the problems explored in this report.

There is one other important consequence of innovation by which all adult educational agencies are threatened, and it is the problem of political alignment. Reasons have been given for regarding the prevailing distribution of adult educational opportunity as a political discrimination against a large part of the population; nevertheless managers and administrators can continue to operate the status quo as somehow non-political. Once a positive decicion is made to redistribute opportunity, and redistribution has to be pursued through quite specific actions, their work begins to take on visibly "political" qualities. They are upsetting a tacit agreement and so are likely to invite the hostile attention of decision-makers

---

1) The Labour Party, Higher and Further Education (Opposition Green Paper), 1973.

2) See for example The Times Higher Education Supplement, 11th January, 1974.

further up the hierarchy, whether officials or elected representatives. Community education may provoke agitation and protest, and the position is especially uncomfortable when a local authority is the victim of dissension apparently being incited by its own employees. Administrators and teachers are constantly reminded of the undefined boundary between their professional objectives and their purposes as individuals and citizens. Innovatory work is quite likely to attract staff and participants whose political motivations extend well beyond the project in hand, and who are quite ready to use it for ulterior purposes.

Redistribution, therefore, demands more than internal organisational adjustment. It represents in the prevailing climate of assumptions a politicisation of adult education.

VI. PRACTICAL DIMENSIONS OF INNOVATION

Redistribution will be fleeting or will remain simply an "experiment" if it is not incorporated in general policy. At the same time policy is in danger of aborting where it is not supported by an adequate methodology. Historians and sociologists have amply demonstrated that good intentions are not enough: grand designs become hollow formulae when they are divorced from the realistic consideration of working means. Successful innovation in adult education will depend on a kind of technology; it has to be self-conscious, respectful of current thinking about the psychological and social constraints on the educative enterprise, and receptive to experience from related fields.

To begin with there has to be constant monitoring of the "service delivery" aspects of what is being attempted. This is done by reference to the ideas of convenience and need.(1)

"Convenience" is the more straightforward notion, and refers to the avoidance of unnecessary hindrances. These are often fairly superficial and easily recognised. For many potential clients the work may take place at the wrong time of day or in the wrong place; involvement may conflict with domestic responsibilities or be inconsistent with established social patterns. It may be too expensive, or it may simply be "invisible". Another order of deterrent has deeper socio-psychological roots, feeding on attitudes to officialdom, the formal educational setting and so on.

"Need" represents a much more tangled conceptual problem. It may constitute a political judgment about the appropriate distribution of social goods; it may be a professional account of what people ought to want; or it may be an acknowledgement of what they currently

---

1) Keith Jackson "Adult Education and Community Development", Studies on Adult Education, 2, 1970, pp. 156-179.

do want. Some of the important political and professional interpretations of need have been stated or implied throughout the discussion to this point. It is enough to add that in the hurly-burly of experimental adult education such judgments may be taken as long-term considerations (at best) or as further deterrents (at worst). The immediate concern is with actual wants and aspirations as the proper stimulus to educational activity.

Working in terms of convenience and this more pragmatic interpretation of need we can identify some of the practical dimensions of change.

Time

Daytime classes are being used with increasing success, and are aimed at the unemployed, the retired and women at home. Day release work has been confined to industrial studies and in-service training, but there may be a future for it in the broader field of community education. There is still too little firm information on the viability of other arrangements such as the single day event or provision at weekends.

Place

The design of buildings is obviously an important factor in work with the physically handicapped. Their "image" is an important consideration if it is intended to attract the socially and culturally resistant. One solution has been to find means of dispelling the "school" reputation, for example by providing more attractive adult centres or offering educational plant as a general community facility. A more extreme solution is for the educationist to move into the participants' natural social environments, as in the "pubs and clubs" approach, or to take the educational transaction to its practical reference point, perhaps the town hall or the town planners' offices.

Location may solve some of the problems of access, but not all. There may remain a need to provide transport services, officially or on a self-help basis, for the handicapped, the poor and the housebound. Other facilities such as the provision of child-minding have been shown to be of great importance.

Recruitment methods

Conventional publicity methods are not successful with many of the groups referred to in this report. Hence there have been attempts to use short, intensive campaigns of "saturation" publicity in limited areas, to introduce word-of-mouth, door-to-door methods, to exploit existing clubs and social groupings in the style of the community development worker. In informal community education an ability to exploit natural channels of influence and diffusion is vital.

Administration

It is argued that the formalities surrounding conventional course organisation have a deterrent quality. The rituals of enrolment, registration and head-counting may impose too great a strain on the fragile motivations of many newcomers to adult education. Experimental projects have uniformly been based on generous notions of control and accountability. Responsibility has been located in the staff's professional integrity rather than in administrative procedure.

It is significant that the largest proportion of innovatory work has been conducted through special budgetary arrangements, typically through sizeable grants from independent outside bodies. The next practical challenge is to discover whether the new models of administrative control can be incorporated into the normal operations of the sponsoring body.

Educational organisation

The assumption that education takes place only in formally organised "classes" and "courses" has been vigorously challenged. Loose, informal groupings unconstrained by rigid requirements of membership and attendance have been attempted. The large public meeting has become a popular strategem. A variety of study, research and action groups has been supported in which the educationist supports rather than controls. The aim may be to infuse a little more self-consciously educational purpose into spontaneous social activity; it may be to develop a specific practice of occasional and "one-off" education; or it may be to pursue the more familiar softening-up process.

Educational content

The desire to avoid the prepackaged course and education offered as a commodity demands unusual approaches to the question of content. In the community action model educational material is produced because it contributes to the solution of a problem that the group has set itself to attack in practical terms - although the educationist may feel responsible for broadening people's perception of what the problem is. Another approach gives learners the responsibility of selecting their own content and leaves the educationist with responsibility for general objectives and for maintaining the learning process. There has also been an attempt to achieve something that has received frequent lip service in adult education: to select the material from within a discipline so that it speaks to the students in their own life situations, and to draw on their own experience and cultural background so that the discipline itself is enhanced. Thus literature study groups for working-class people have attempted to take seriously the idea that there is an industrial working-class culture with its own particular strengths and virtues.

Co-operation

There has been a move away from managing adult education as a separate system within its own organisational boundaries. It has been pushed into close association with other social services and with voluntary associations, sometimes as an expert resource and consultancy body, but also as a partner in a collective enterprise.

VII. SELECTED CASES

A particular concern of this report is with the potential contribution of the universities in developing a broader concept of adult education. Any attempt to redistribute the resources of "higher" adult education raises a particularly difficult set of problems, as has already been suggested; and so to help clarify the situation a number of illustrative cases is included at this point.

Liverpool

In recent years Liverpool has been the most widely discussed centre of innovation in adult and community education. The Educational Priority Area established in the inner part of the city was used as a testing ground for "relevant" education as a method of counteracting the failures of the school system. A curriculum dominated by middle-class values and aspirations was said to have little meaning for the families of unskilled workers living in deprived and problem-bound surroundings. There was a drive to design learning materials and methods that began in the local environment, in local values and ambitions. Inevitably education came to be seen in the broader context of community development.

It was recognised that changes at the school level would have a poor prospect of success unless parents could also be involved in the changing approach. The WEA District appointed a tutor-organiser to work in collaboration with the original EPA project, and gave him an unusually open brief. The tutor-organiser set out to develop a role of resource, consultant and channel of communication in the process of local self-help and self-determination. Some of his work was directed at forging links between parents and the school system, but there were also specifically adult educational developments.

For example, in a neighbourhood affected by urban redevelopment facilities were provided for a group that wished to make its own proposals for the future of the area. Adult education supplied the help needed in understanding the planning process, and the result was a set of proposals that were accepted by the city authorities. Local radio was exploited through a series of programmes about life in the inner city, and listening groups were formed in a variety of meeting places, including the now legendary "pubs and clubs".

The Institute of Extension Studies of Liverpool University became involved in this work with the aim of exploring the role of higher education and of clarifying the relationship between education and community development. Its early objectives were to strengthen the interdependence of statutory and voluntary agencies in community activities; to examine the relationship of academic material to the lives of ordinary people; and to pursue training and research that would directly contribute to the effectiveness of other bodies involved.

The "multiplier effect" was exploited, by offering support to various groups that were themselves at the front line of community work. Study groups were arranged for administrators and social service workers who faced important organisational changes as a result of the irruption of "community" thinking. These facilities were not offered in the way of general in-service training: the criteria were that the clients should be involved in immediate organisational changes, and that study should focus on specific urban problems. The focus was therefore on the ultimate clients, the community, and not on the immediate participants qua professional workers. Similar work was undertaken with the "new volunteers", well-educated and perhaps professionally skilled people who were involving themselves in the community life of the inner city.

More recently the University has sponsored an experiment in comprehensive adult education provision for a working-class area, the content of which has been based on actual expressed and developing interests. An important part of the programme was ironically in conventional "leisure time" activity - for example Spanish and canoe building - of the kind already provided by most LEAs but never successfully delivered before in this part of the city. From conventional leisure-time work at one extreme the project extended to community action at the other. For example academic support was provided for a group concerned to understand and actively oppose the Conservative Government's Rent Act. Here university resources were were being applied to a task already recognised in the educational priority setting - the development of indigenous working-class leadership by encouraging skills of analysis, communication and organisation.

One lesson for university adult education is that it can help discover the conditions under which working-class community education can be successful, and that it can learn to make its own contribution not as a separate institution but within a co-ordinated and comprehensive pattern.

An important contribution has also been made by the Liverpool University Settlement through its Adult Literacy Project. However, the link here between the content of the project and the usual preoccupations of the university as a place of learning is much less direct.

To an outsider it appears that much of the work in Liverpool has tended to underplay the traditional theme of education as a means to personal development, and has redefined the problem as one of bringing academic and educational resources to bear in the process of group problem-solving - the problems being largely defined by the client group themselves. The importance is also apparent of concentrating intensively on defined areas and categories of need, using various and often ad hoc methods. This has been seen as a much more appropriate tactic than any attempt to secure high-level administrative specifications or imposing co-ordinating machinery.

Despite the impression sometimes gained from outside Liverpool cannot be treated as a large, happy community of innovators. "Local relevance" has been attacked as anti-educational in that it confirms the separateness and limited outlook of the socially disadvantaged. Similarly community development has been stigmatised as a containment mechanism of a fundamentally unjust society. On the other hand one hears the academically-based contributors being accused of ideologising, of erecting grand policies and justifications on shaky foundations of practical accomplishment.

A final point relates to finance. Support for the activities referred to has typically been secured through grants from outside, independent bodies. Therefore we still have little practical guidance on how newer forms of work can be incorporated routinely into a more generous adult education service.

Southampton University - the New Communities Project

With substantial special assistance from the Department of Education the University of Southampton extra-mural department has initiated a project in community education. It is located in a large overspill housing estate built by the Portsmouth town council, which is relatively isolated, has poor amenities and in the past has suffered from a complicated pattern of local government services and control.

The project was designed as a research effort, though not of the kind in which conventional notions of testing and control could be applied. It was also conceived in specifically educational terms, and accepted that it could legitimately be concerned with the development of individuals; the aim was to produce an increase in and a redistribution of adult educational provision, not directly to encourage more social and community work or political action. Whilst fully acknowledging the reality of social, cultural and economic underprivilege the project avoided a specific political commitment.

At the same time the Southampton team did not regard their task to be to produce "more of the same", and to engage in a "soft sell" of conventional programmes. An orientation to the community, its discontents and underlying needs demanded an open mind about what kind of programme and methods might be developed. In this sense the New Communities project also rejected the line taken by Keele University, and described below - the updating of the idea of "pioneer work" which is designed to lead on to fairly conventional forms of study.

The project accepts that any vast increase in adult educational provision is illusory, but insists that if recruitment is to remain selective the effective criteria should not remain those of social and cultural background. If the audience is only a small section of the adult public it should at least approach a better cross-section. As a step towards this the Southampton team have pragmatically explored new ways of attracting working-class people into educational activities appropriate to them and to some extent shaped by them.

To the extent that it has any ideology the project appears to draw on Paulo Freire's ideas. The emphasis is on the process of liberating disadvantaged people for change and self-determination - through "conscientisation" - and not on dictating particular directions or end results of change.

The first problem was identified as one of ingratiating the team with the host community, of avoiding being stereotyped as yet another foreign body concerned solely with its own purposes of gathering information and producing academic results. The more obvious methods of research were avoided, and the "low profile" methods of community work adopted. Early contacts led quickly to involvement in adventure playground and school holiday activity schemes; specific educational outcomes were an informal group on child development provided through the WEA for parents who had little confidence in joining a formal course, and consultancy work with an action group considering the implications of government policy on nursery education for their own area. The needs of adult illiterates were also recognised at this stage and a start made with a tuition scheme. Informal work in the community highlighted the confusion that many people experienced about local government responsibilities: consequently a group was formed to look at means of improving information flow and consultancy services were made available from university staff.

The second stage, called "Breakthrough", involved the team in taking a more publicly visible stance. It consisted of a week of intensive publicity in the various shopping centres of the estate - a familiar enough device, though this time used with unusually varied purposes.

The first aim was to increase awareness of existing adult educational facilities. The organisers candidly admit that they have little evidence to show that high pressure publicity has any noticeable effect in increasing enrolments. The gain was seen in the way the exercise forced the professionals to re-examine their assumptions about how to publicise and make contacts.

An interest service was also operated through which people with a particular skill could make contact with one another. A number of self-sustaining interest groups emerged from this; they found it difficult, however, to obtain support from the regular adult education service because of its limiting methods of administration.

The third venture was designed to show that groups recruited informally and with only the most tenuous educational purposes could develop into demanding and satisfying activities. Two such groups were successful and are said to be experiencing the benefits of a first-rate adult class, despite the fact that they have never gone through the rituals of becoming a "class". In this work the content is determined by the members themselves, and the tutor's brief is to maintain the flow of learning, to support the participants in the process of educating themselves. The Southampton team offer these groups as an example of how community-based activity should be education rather than social work, and yet should where necessary break out of the constraints of conventional programme design.

A final device used in Breakthrough was an informal and playful "survey" of people's wishes for the future of the area they lived in. The returns were used as the basis of a public meeting, which in its turn produced action groups to look into various aspects of community services. The project provided these groups with consultancy over matters of aims and procedures.

New Communities is a continuing project, and there are plans to give more definite shape to some of the informal activity referred to here. Again the observer is impressed with what can be opened up when there is a purposive narrowing of objectives and focus. And again he notes that the results are being achieved outside the usual channels of finance and organisation. A specific project is set up to permit more flexible notions of professional responsibility, accountability and performance. As in the Liverpool case the conclusion follows that new means must be found of organising adult education, or existing agencies must find ways of revising their ideas of what it is to do a responsible job. Either choice raises important questions for those who, internally and externally, control adult education.

Keele University and working-class education

A few years ago the Adult Education department of Keele University turned its attention to the manifest failures of working-class adult education. The WEA was said to be ineffective in discharging its declared obligations. The universities were accused of selling the pass in their concentration on "industrial education", which is biased towards male workers, and towards an elite of male workers at that, and often involves a narrowly utilitarian view of the purpose of study.

Two conclusions were suggested to university adult educationists: first that extra-mural departments would have to concentrate on education in and for the community if they were to make any advances in encouraging working-class involvement; secondly that they must preserve their identity as university providers.

Keele set up its own community education project, the original focus being the mining village of Silverdale close by the University campus. A social survey confirmed what everyone suspected, that Silverdale was largely working-class, by sociological and self-ascription, and that it was an adult educational wilderness. University staff began to visit organisations and individuals in the village with the purpose of discussing relations between the community and the neighbouring University, which at that time were non-existent; very soon they were made aware of residents' complaints over poor amenities, feelings that the neighbourhood was badly done by, and so on. A public meeting was held and a number of informal groups set up. One of these went on to generate an independent community association which began to represent the views of villagers to the local authority. The aim of the University in supporting these activities was not directly to produce more social action or better services, but to introduce working people to the processes of education, to enquiry and discussion. Soon it proved possible to organise a formal programme in a place where adult education had been extinct for more than 15 years. From the beginning the stated aims of the Keele experiment were to attract more working people into adult education, and to encourage them eventually to pursue sustained and demanding study.

The publication of these early experiences, and the circumstances surrounding it has tended to fix ideas about what is involved in the work. It is sometimes assumed that the project simply aims to soften people up for a conventional study programme; that the ordinary content of extra-mural study is taken for granted. The atmosphere was clouded at an early stage by the Director's criticisms of the WEA and the clear intention that the University should make its own way. The controversy that blew up may have persuaded the staff that it was unwise to risk overstating their ideas and methods; at any rate there has been little advertising of the project since. This is unfortunate since the work has grown considerable in size and conception.

In 1973-74 the programme recruited over 200 students in seven villages and towns and on a large housing estate. Over 80 per cent of the participants were manual working class and a similar percentage had no experience of education after the minimum school-leaving age. Almost half the courses appear to have been of a full 24 weeks' duration, and students have been encouraged to produce written work.

The original aims of the project have therefore been preserved, but the range of development work and the conception of what is appropriate advanced study have been refined. More self-conscious use is being made of natural channels of influence in the community, for example the informal opinion-shapers referred to as "street leaders". Co-operation has been developed with a number of schools, where parents can go to learn about the methods of primary education, or to study the same CSE literature syllabus that their older children are following. The schoolchildren themselves have been involved in the recruitment process.

In the organisation of subject matter increasing attention has been given to matching academic content and the participants' own experience and interests. Social history, sociology and industrial relations have all been approached through investigation of local conditions and circumstances. The school-based literature courses have an inbuilt advantage in that many of the CSE texts are selected because of their relevance to working-class life.

Certain courses have set out to explore the issue of relevance more directly, and Freire's writing has provided the rationale. The concept of a dialogue between intellectual and majority of popular culture is being applied in order to circumvent the errors of academic condescension and colonialism. In Keele's "experimental courses" it is assumed that working-class life life has its own legitimate strengths and achievements and that these are a firm enough base for the educative process.

The Keele experience suggests directly a question that could have been raised at many points hitherto: why is it that in different parts of the country adult educationists are reporting new successes of this kind? Their aims and many of their methods are not new. Ideas of relevance, of dialogue between different cultures have been with us in various forms for many years. The methods of community contact and use of natural local leadership were always supposed to be obvious choices for WEA tutor-organisers and university resident tutors.

It could be that ideological renewal is periodically necessary to keep institutions from complete inertia; a sense of "movement" and "mission" certainly seem to have been important historically in adult education. The projects described have tended to build their own organisational methods and to have made them more flexible than those of the parent institutions. Activists have also approached their publics more directly, avoiding formal channels. They have worked with but not through other agencies and have tried to skirt round the obstacles of vested interests. Thus Keele suggested that it was no longer appropriate to work through the WEA since the Association did not provide a viable link with the community and had become institutionalised in a way that prevented its achieving its own purposes. It may be that community development ideas have had a creeping influence on adult education, helping the more adventurous professionals clarify traditional purposes and sharpen their perceptions of what in detail needs to be done if long-held ambitions are to be realised.

Once more we end up with the question of how to maintain a momentum. "Experimental" projects need to be strengthened in order to protect them against the lapses that occur so easily, through staffing changes, loss of energy, termination of special finance, and so on. How can experiments be turned into lasting organisational changes?

VIII. A NOTE ON ACCESS TO FORMAL COURSES AND QUALIFICATIONS

Theories of community education emphasize the need to free educational resources for use by a wider range of people; they also appeal to the belief in a still large and untapped reservoir of ability and potential among ordinary people. In their eagerness to avoid the errors of the formal education system they pay little attention to the issue of qualifications. This is a peculiar omission; qualification-getting certainly reeks of social mobility and acquiescence in the existing order of society, and yet the way in which formal qualifications are distributed has important implications for the patterning of social power and influence.

The Russell Report (paragraphs 286-299) provides an authoritative statement of why this is an important social and economic problem, why expansion of opportunity is urgently needed and why it suggests an adult educational task rather than the simple insertion of more older people into the ordinary channels of education.

The difficulties should not be underestimated, for even where there is a commitment in policy to providing more open access it is not easily achieved. For example the non-university sector of higher education was always intended to provide wider opportunities for part-time and older students, but it has experienced a steady drift whereby recruitment patterns came closer to those of the universities. When the economic potential of the Open University was fully recognised a definite attempt was made by outsiders to divert some of its provision towards "ordinary" university students.

From the earliest stages of overcoming the self-depreciation and diffidence of people who have been long out of school, to the highest levels of degree study there is a need to develop an adult educational approach, and this will raise many academic and administrative problems. It cannot be assumed that existing methods of designing qualifying courses at any level offer appropriate models where we are concerned with the re-entry of mature people. There will be a need to experiment with syllabus patterns, part-time study and credit facilities that are still unfamiliar in British post-school education, and indeed which may be strongly resisted, especially in the universities.

A number of universities do operate schemes for admitting a limited number of mature applicants who lack formal entry requirements; these are open only to those who can arrange to follow a full-time course. The London University external degree has existed for many years, but its structure and the peculiar way in which teaching has to be obtained probably limit its effective accessibility to the more confident and determined. The Open University, conceived as a response to the problem of access and developed as a complete system, has shown what can be done, though clearly it has touched only part of the potential audience. The opportunity for part-time study in a local university is almost non-existent. The University of Hull operates two part-time first degree courses, significantly with the involvement of its Adult Education department, and there appears to be little more. Access to CNAA awards through polytechnics and further education colleges is in principle fairly open, but the non-university sector has produced no great widening of the social boundaries.

The majority of extra-mural departments offer university diplomas and certificates for which almost anyone who wishes may study part-time in the ordinary evening programme, and some of the courses are quite carefully designed. From the point of view of access the fatal drawback is that these awards do not relate in an intelligible and usable fashion to the established hierarchy of academic qualifications. A 1973 study(1) suggests that important needs are being activated

---

1) C. Duke and S. Marriott Paper Awards in Liberal Adult Education, Michael Joseph, 1973.

through diploma and certificate courses: some students treat them as a bridge between their limited school achievements and advanced education, some use them as a means of building confidence and exploring possibilities for their career development, others cling to them as a substitute for much desired but inaccessible degree level study, and others are able to use them as validated substitutes for needed but non-existent in-service training. The onus is on extramural departments to be more candid about what they are trying to achieve and what some of their students expect of them, to redefine their "university" qualifications and redesign their award-bearing courses appropriately.

At different educational levels some colleges of further education provide courses to equip older people, typically "housewives", with the basic experience and qualifications that will enable them to enter more advanced courses. Some of the students eventually surprise themselves by becoming qualified teachers or social workers. The scope for this kind of work is extensive, particularly if it can be developed in a community education context. This is a reminder of how much we have allowed ourselves to be restricted, in the local authority and university sectors of adult education, by anachronistic distinctions between "liberal" and "vocational" study. One can only hope that the same mistake will not be made in the move to community education.

These scattered fragments of provision could provide the starting point for an advisory and teaching service for mature people seeking a second chance in education; they might be developed into a challenge to the over-rigid programming of post-school study. What is urgently needed is a large-scale examination of existing facilities, prospects for expansion and the social and economic case for more open access to formal courses and qualifications.

IX. FINAL COMMENTS

The call to extend and redistribute opportunity through adult education is not simply a whim of enthusiasts within the profession. There are good reasons for believing that a more ambitiously conceived service would make an important contribution to the social development of an advanced, industrialised society.

Educational demands

The demands on education as a means of producing the human resources vital to an advanced society continually increase. Our existing system of education appears to be based on the assumption that a few years' learning in adolescence and early adulthood is enough to equip a person for the rest of his occupational and social life. It is highly unlikely that the education and training being provided now will be adequate to the needs of 20 or 30 years' time, but without an expansion of adult education what can be done about it? We already know that at the end of the century, unless such developments have taken place, the great majority of people aged 40 and over will have had no significant educational experience beyond the minimum school-leaving age.

Social demands

Social organisation is becoming more complex and at the same time less dependable; we are said to be passing beyond the stable state into an expectation of the permanence of change. Futurologists tell us that concepts of the organisation, the career perhaps also the community will change radically and that new sources of personal and group identity will have to be explored. They warn us that we must upgrade human resources of all kinds and avoid total dependence on monotechnic experts. If prophecy comes true our existing educational provision will prove sadly lacking.

Economics and efficiency

Evidence is accumulating that newer, more flexible and open forms of education may prove considerably more cost-effective than traditional methods. There are also suspicions that if we are to cope with emerging manpower requirements then a flexible continuative system of education and training is necessary, with fewer resources pumped into early, once-for-all specialisation. Once we acknowledge the need for continuative and recurrent learning provision the role of adult education, as a form of provision, a set of attitudes and skills, or an area of analysis and research, must be given due prominence.

Social justice

We are still a long way from the "educative society" and it has become clear that the formal system cannot provide the solution. The expansion of post-school education has produced little change in the relative social composition of the student body; that and the never-ending reform of school education have produced no great change in the meaning of "education" for the larger part of the population. Real progress towards new meanings could perhaps be made through adult education, but as everything in this report suggests we shall not achieve it simply by organising more of what already exists.

UNITED STATES

by

Jack London and Milton R. Stern

I. INTRODUCTION

The growth of an American post-industrial society, following World War II, has accelerated the need for education and training at levels never experienced in any previous known period. These requirements were generally coupled in the United States with an older social tenet that anybody educated to less than his potential is a liability to the society and to himself. But despite this 20th-century American convention that everybody should be educated, large groups of people have typically been neglected. Although the democratic ethos has held that compulsory education is a good, that everybody should go to school, actually "everybody" has not and "everybody" does not.

In the last 15 years, a great deal of energy and money has been spent to raise the level of education of hitherto neglected groups. These have included the recognisable ethnic minorities, particularly Blacks and Chicanos, American Indians, Appalachian whites living in the mountain poverty pockets of Eastern America, blue-collar workers, and the poor in general. A consensus emerged, which has now taken on the character of a stereotype, that the "forgotten people" should be helped, particularly through education, to improve their lot. The idea has become a conventional utterance of educators, politicians, business leaders and the media. Despite the general acceptance of the principle, however, the millenium has not been brought about. The results of the "war on poverty" in helping the poor have been minuscule in comparison to the benefits gained by the professionals and politicians managing these programmes. Economic and cultural circumstances have not changed sufficiently to strengthen the self concept and opportunities of the economically disadvantaged in our society.(1)

---

1) A new survey by the National Center for Health Statistics reveals that 1 million American youths, or 4.8 per cent of the population in the 12-17 age bracket are illiterate. Scores were worse among Blacks than Whites, boys than girls, and youngsters from low-income families with less-educated parents than those from more affluent backgrounds, San Francisco Chronicle, 6th May, 1974, page 2.

At present a degree of disillusion has set in about the effectiveness of more education in assuring even the improvement of job opportunities. A countervailing attitude, expressed by references to the "overeducated", seemingly has taken hold in the seventies. Higher education is now looked at with suspicion by quite a few of the advantaged as well as the disadvantaged. Many, even of the affluent, no longer see education as an automatic open sesame to the good life.

What is the role of adult education in these new circumstances? To back up, what has been the effectiveness of adult education in dealing with the "unreachable" groups in the population in the past 10 or 15 years?

Before considering these questions, we must dissipate some misunderstandings.

A prevalent notion about adult education continues, to the effect that its primary clientele are men and women who have missed an earlier opportunity for education, and hence seek further schooling to remedy their educational deficit. In effect, to many, if not most people, adult education still means "night" school for adults who must upgrade their own inadequate education, particularly to obtain a high school diploma as the minimum requirement for a job. The stereotype persists, although relatively few are still in this older category. There is growing evidence that more and more adults, already well-educated, are those who return to school on a part-time basis, to secure additional schooling for professional, vocational, or personal reasons. In fact, some national studies have demonstrated that it is precisely the better educated and more affluent segments of the population who are more likely to be enrolled in adult education than are the disadvantaged. Paradoxically, this means that adult education presently appears to increase existing educational equalities rather than counteract them.

At the same time, most Americans, even educators, continue to behave as if formal education was designed essentially for the young, even though the rapid expansion of knowledge, and its concomitant rapid obsolescence, suggests that no one can any longer complete an education. Too many believe still that to socialise the young, to prepare them for adult roles, the world of work and to serve as a selection mechanism to determine who succeeds and who fails - these remain the crucial (and limited) functions of our schools.

Another generally held assumption is that schools exist to help children "become somebody". A belief persists that education serves to democratise society and make opportunities for getting ahead available to all people. This is more often wish than fulfilment. Scepticism is growing, particularly among young adults, both well-educated and not, who are coming to believe that the system of education is more concerned with the preservation of the status quo of economics and politics than with helping to provide equal opportunities for all.

Our discussion of the missing clientele in adult education will be developed in terms of such debatable beliefs about the purposes of education and whom it serves, and in the context of other relevant characteristics of American society. It is our assertion that the failure of adults to seek out education is more than a matter of individual choice. We are led to the conclusion that education is offered in a selective manner that virtually guarantees success for some and failure for others. To ignore the existence of a social structure that differentially provides educational opportunities to some and not to others is to evade a reality that is central to any analysis of schooling in America.

Let us look at the existing patterns of participation (and non-participation) in adult education. Our attention will be devoted to those segments of our population that are discriminated against by the existing educational provision for adults - a discrimination that is seldom mentioned in current American adult education literature. This must also be connected to earlier schooling. It is evident that economically disadvantaged children are more likely to become disadvantaged adults, and failure of education for many children and adolescents almost assures that the "always absent" while young will grow into adulthood as part of the missing clientele in adult education.

II. THE MISSING CLIENTELE

Is the problem of the missing clientele due simply to oversight or rather to an economic system that is able to serve only selected segments of the adult population - upper working class and middle class? Is becoming middle class the only way in which those in poverty can improve their life conditions? Since not all working-class adults aspire to middle-class values, are they to be characterised as lazy, lacking motivation and not interested in improving their condition? If poverty is defined as a lack of income, why have not experiments, such as the negative income tax or the guaranteed annual wage, been more vigorously pursued in order to determine what impact more money to the poor may have upon their motivation, interest and style of life? These and other questions about the quality of poverty are pertinent to a critical evaluation of existing patterns of adult education (non-) participation.

The major variables influencing participation in educational activities are education, occupation, and income.

Taken together, the impact of all three factors, education, occupation, and income was enormous: a person who had been to college, who worked in a white-collar occupation, and who made more than US$7,000 a year was about six times more likely to have been engaged in learning pursuits during the previous year than a person who had never gone beyond grade school, who worked in a blue-collar occupation, and whose family income was less than US$4,000 a year.(1)

All the studies on participation tend to identify these variables as the most important in assessing who participates and who does not. In examining the adults who are less likely to participate in adult education, we will briefly identify all the segments of the population who are among the disadvantaged, but focus primary attention upon the major groups of non-participants, utilising categories identified in a recent volume entitled Outsiders USA, edited by Spiegel and Keith-Spiegel.(2) Some of these are: elderly, physically disabled, physically deviant, mentally deviant, the poor, dropouts, consumers, drug users, the alcoholic, ex-prisoners, homosexuals, ex-mental patients, youth and counter-culture, Blacks, Asians, Native Americans, Mexican Americans, women, soldiers, whistle blowers,(3) policemen, and college students. If we were to add up all of these alleged "outsiders", we would include about 85 per cent of the population, with the Anglo-Saxon male virtually the only one left "inside". This is somewhat extreme a catalogue: those we will focus upon are the poor, unemployed, elderly, blue collar workers and ethnic minorities. These constitute the major groups least likely to be enrolled in adult education programmes.

III. POVERTY

An obvious commonsense view is that society would be better off if we could find some other way to eliminate poverty. Yet poverty persists in the face of our "war on poverty" which began as a promise to eliminate conditions that make people poor. It failed because it was based on an ideology that the poor must change if poverty is to be eliminated. An opposed notion paradoxically asserts that efforts to help the poor help themselves have failed (and will fail) because the poor are lazy, unwilling to work and/or stupid. This reasoning

---

1) Johnstone, John. W.C. and Rivera, Ramon J., Volunteers for Learning: A Study of the Educational Pursuits of American Adults, Chicago, Aldine Publishing Company, 1965, p. 7.

2) Spiegel, Don and Keith-Spiegel, Patricia, Outsiders USA, Rinehart Press, San Francisco, 1973.

3) Nader, Ralph, et al., Whistle-Blowing, Bantam Books, New York, New York, 1972.

never admits of the possibility that the poverty programme failed because the major focus was upon changing the poor rather than trying to improve the structure of opportunity for them.(1)

Poverty in our society may never be eliminated unless we recognise what are, in effect, the social and economic uses of poverty, that is, how it functions to the benefit of the more advantaged segments of our populations. While not attempting to examine the causes of poverty, we will identify some of the functions it serves in maintaining affluence - with discussion drawn from a recent volume by Herbert Gans.(2)

Every society has some dirty work to be carried out by some of its citizenry as a vital maintenance function. Who would collect garbage, clean houses, work on assembly lines, work as aides in hospitals, harvest the crops, or clean streets? Who would be willing to earn their livelihood in dirty, dull and uninteresting jobs if the poor didn't exist? One important function of poverty is to provide a pool of workers for the lowest paid and least desirable jobs in the community.

The poor are assigned to the low-prestige dirty work because of the limited alternatives available to them. Who would pick the crops in some states if the local government did not find ways of terminating some welfare recipients during the planting and harvest seasons to force them to work at very low wages in the fields?(3) Who would wash the dishes in restaurants? Who would work as a domestic? When the poor accept these positions, the upper working, middle and upper classes are free to do work that is higher on the prestige scale of occupations and to enjoy life styles commensurate with the rewards of affluence.

The low wages available to the poor operate to subsidise the higher earnings of the middle class. It is no secret that the poor pay a much higher percentage of their income for taxes than the middle and upper classes. "The government provides far more in financial guarantees and assistance to people who are not poor than to those that are on welfare. In fact, some critics assert that the real

---

1) Huber, John and Form, William H., Income and Ideology: An Analysis of the American Political Formula, The Free Press, New York, 1973, p. 162.

2) Gans, Herbert J., More Equality, Pantheon, New York, 1973, pp. 105-114.

3) Piven, Frances Fox, and Cloward, Richard A., Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare, Vintage Books, New York, 1971. One function of social welfare is to provide a means of social control as agent for the society. According to Piven and Cloward, two effects of social welfare programmes in the United States are the moderation or prevention of disorder and disruption on the part of the poor, and the maintenance of a large labour pool by making relief disagreeable and by taking people off welfare from time to time to provide labour in the fields.

'welfare crisis' has been caused by over-payments to the rich."(1) Ironically, some of these taxes paid by the poor (sales taxes are the most regressive and hardest on the poor) help pay for the limited monies granted the disabled, aged, and others living in poverty who are unable to work.

In every community there are county hospitals, clinics and medical schools that may be more likely to utilise the poor in research projects and, secondarily, contribute to improved medical care for the more affluent. A major source of human guinea pigs used in medical research, and especially for the testing of new drugs, are the prisons. Since the prisons have a very high proportionate number of inmates from the ghettos and slums, their contribution, and thus that of the poor, is again significantly higher than that of any other group.

Without the poor, where could employment be found for the social workers, public health educators, ministers in many fundamentalist churches, faith healers, additional police, the social scientists who carry out their studies among the economically disadvantaged, and those who, both legally and illegally, run the gambling industry? Who would buy the stale bakery goods; shoddy merchandise, old and rotten fruits and vegetables, second-hand clothing and cars, and occupy the slum dwellings? And who would patronise the credit companies that charge very high rates? And who would shop at food stores that, by offering credit, can extract outrageously high prices? "If you think that living on welfare is all sugar, cherries and honey, you're wrong, because there is too much month left at the end of the money."(2) Doctors, dentists, lawyers, teachers and other professionals who may be incompetent to earn a living in a middle-class neighbourhood can often succeed in the ghetto communities where their clients have no alternative to second-rate service.

It may be necessary to have a group (the poor) in violation of society's middle-class norms in order to validate those norms. And yet, the crimes and deviations on the part of the poor are considerably reduced in significance when compared to the wrong-doings of the more affluent. We hear of chiselers on welfare and attempts to identify and eliminate them, but how would these numbers (and dollars!) compare to those more affluent who cheat on their income tax returns? Difficult to assess, but there is ground to believe that more people and much more money are involved in white-collar crime than in street crimes, robbery and burglary.

---

1) Komisar, Lucy, Down and Out in the USA: A History of Social Welfare, New Viewpoints, New York, 1974, pp. 137-139.

2) National Welfare Rights Organisation Welfare Fighter, 1972, quoted in Komisar, before title page as epigraph.

In some instances, society is in the process of "manufacturing" new cadres of poor to take the places of those who may have escaped. The elderly are a case in point. In the face of inflation, medical bills that continue to escalate, inadequate pensions, and insufficient social security benefits, how can a retired worker live above the poverty line? In many instances, a worker is stripped of dignity and self-respect upon retirement and is pushed into poverty and dependency.

The pervasive notion that the poor are responsible for their circumstances helps to characterise the ghetto child in the slum school (who later becomes the forgotten adult non-learner) as lazy and too stupid to learn how to read.

> ...teachers play the central role in establishing and perpetuating the system of classroom segregation ... teachers create for themselves a paradoxical position. On the one hand, they view themselves as teachers - as those who seek to aid children to learn of themselves and their world. Yet they respond to the socio-economic differences in their students in a way that precludes for some the very opportunity of learning. They generate failure in some of their students while believing themselves to desire success for their charges. The way out of the dilemma for teachers and school systems in general is to assume that they have done all they can in the face of overwhelming environmental (and genetic) odds.(1)

Seldom does the teacher share the blame for failure. This negative appraisal of their students, often beginning in kindergarten, relieves the teachers of any guilt for the poor performance of the children. It sometimes happens that teachers invite "successful" persons, formerly of the ghetto, to visit their classes and talk to students. In most instances, these persons create the impression that everyone can be successful if he works hard. The effect of such visits is not typically to provide models for slum children, but to remind them that if they do not succeed in school it is because they lack ambition and do not work hard enough. Thus, failure becomes a personal matter and not the possible fault of many influences, the teacher, school, economy, racism, etc. Again, the victim is blamed for being victim.(2)

The existence of mass apathy in the United States was noted by Gunnar Myrdal in a restudy of "The American Dilemma". Although Myrdal is still in the early stages of his restudy, he has observed that pressure from the disadvantaged to improve their own conditions is virtually non-existent. In contrast to the disadvantaged in

---

1) Rist, Ray C., The Urban School: A Factory for Failure, MIT Press, Cambridge, 1973, p. 246.

2) Ryan, Robert, Blaming the Victim, Vintage Books, New York, 1971.

Europe, Americans seldom organise to exert social pressure upon authorities to improve local conditions. One reason for this is lack of leadership among the poor, because selected individuals from among the disadvantaged have been allowed to improve their own conditions and have been recruited into the middle class. Thus the poor are unable to identify or support their own leaders, those who would organise the necessary pressure that would result in an increased share of resources.(1)

We know that participation of Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and American Indians in the electoral process is severely limited by laws at the county/local levels. While the voter registration drive in the Deep South during the 1960s achieved some success, many Blacks continue to be excluded by local practice and laws. Voter registration laws serve to disenfranchise those who must change their place of residence, and the poor and disadvantaged move often because of inadequate housing and unstable employment. Thus, their influence upon local government is further weakened. No effective way will be found to help the disadvantaged to gain greater influence over their own conditions until a universal voter registration system is created, one that allows easy access to voting at the federal level and includes local and state elections (as in Britain and Canada).(2)

Racism in American society, directed against Blacks and other racial minorities, is a consequence in a major part of the economic system. Racism serves to select out segments of the population who will not succeed in acquiring the affluence which, according to American ideology, is the appropriate reward of all ambitious, highly motivated, and intelligent persons.

> The state, and the institutions that support it, depend on a passive citizenry for their existence, and they made sure that no challenge to passivity would emerge from the war on poverty.(3)

Racism, discrimination and inequality will not be eliminated if we continue to lay blame upon individuals alone. Our economic system and government, and many of our institutions, must undergo change. Local and regional vested interest will oppose any sharing of resources and power with community organisations of the disadvantaged. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 created Community Action Programmes (CAP) that were designed to provide for maximum feasible participation of residents of the area and members of the groups

---

1) Myrdal, Gunnar, "Mass Passivity in America", The Center Magazine, March-April, 1974, pp. 72-75.

2) Kimball, Penn, The Discriminated, Columbia University Press, New York, 1972, p. 3.

3) Wolfe, Alan, The Seamy Side of Democracy, David McKay, New York, 1973, p. 47.

being served. Participation in this experiment in "participatory democracy" was opposed by those benefiting from the status quo; mayors, social welfare agencies, chambers of commerce, bankers, etc. In fact, "Mayors across the nation charged the federal government with financing an attack on city hall and undermining local influence and authority."(1) The assumptions that led to the involvement of the poor in helping to determine their own conditions were described as follows:

> Involve a man in successful and significant social action, give him a hand in decisions and institutions that affect his life, and he will soon develop psychological and social competence that will enable him to climb out of poverty.(2)

The failures of the CAP programmes, considered to be a first step toward participatory democracy on the part of the poor, owed to a variety of pressures from diverse power groups who wanted no competition or lessening of their influence.

> If the representation mandate were implemented with vigour and poor people controlled the policy councils, they would acquire experience in community affairs. There might emerge from such experience a political consciousness and political organisation not beholden to incumbent officeholders and party leaders - a new coherent force in the cities. Out of the most elementary instincts of self-preservation, this is the last thing which incumbents wish to see in their jurisdictions.(3)

Yet an idea may have been planted that may encourage the powerless to realise that without any political influence and control, improvement in their own conditions will always be opposed by special interest groups.

Another obstacle to providing power to the powerless is the establishment of educational requirements which actually prohibit those in poverty from improving their conditions. As the educational attainment of our population rises, so do the requirements for a given level of schooling. There is some interesting evidence to show that required levels of schooling are not always relevant to the abilities required for a given job.(4) Does a plumber need two years of college? What about the automobile mechanic or the telephone operator? How much schooling do they need? The high value placed upon the securing of diplomas and degrees is a fact of our society, and makes

---

1) Rubin, Lillian B., "Maximum Feasible Participation: The Origins, Implications, and Present Status", The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, September 1969, v. 385, p. 15.

2) Ibid., p. 18.

3) Ibid., p. 25.

4) Berg, Ivar, Jobs and Education: The Great Training Robbery, Prager, New York, 1970.

it mandatory upon the individual to secure such recognition if he is to succeed.

> Diplomaism gives legitimacy to our social structure without disturbing its essential inequality. It is, indeed, a clever invention: it provides us with the illusion of a system of merit without the inconvenient realities of a true "meritocracy", and it preserves class bias under a veneer of objectivity. We can proclaim to the world and to ourselves that ours is an open system, one in which the road upward is open to anyone who is willing to earn the diploma; meanwhile, of course, much the same people as before end up at the top.(1)

The diploma is all the more important because fewer unskilled jobs are being made available for the dropout. In 1900, 60 per cent of the labour force were unskilled workers. By 1950, the percentage dropped to about 30 per cent, and it has been estimated that in the future only 5 per cent of all jobs in the labour force will remain unskilled. As we define the dropout as a person who did not complete high school, in 1975 about 17 per cent of our youth dropped out. It will be increasingly difficult for these youth to secure employment of any kind.(2)

Other problems related to the dropout include their unemployment, underemployment, and their drift into delinquency and criminal activity. Most important, perhaps, the dropout becomes a symbol of failure. While we have reduced the number of dropouts, there are continuing difficulties in providing more relevant education and jobs for those who cannot "stick it out" in school. It will require a determined effort to create new jobs, perhaps supported by government, to help these young people escape complete failure.

IV. PATTERNS OF ADULT EDUCATIONAL PARTICIPATION AND NON-PARTICIPATION

The very thorough and systematic nationwide study of adult education carried out by the National Opinion Research Center in 1962-63 reported that the median amount of formal schooling among its sample, limited to adult education participants, was 12.2 in contrast to 11.5 per cent in the total national sample. A sharper contrast is developed in another statistic which reveals that while 47 per cent of the men and women enrolled in adult education had more than 16 years of schooling only 4 per cent had no formal education. A distinction was also noted when occupations of participants and non-participants were compared: 32 per cent of white-collar workers as compared to

---

1) Hapgood, David, Diplomaism, Donald W. Brown, New York, 1971, p. 17.

2) Cervantes, Lucius F., "The Dropouts", in Don Spiegel and Patricia Keith-Spiegel, op. cit., p. 181.

17 per cent of blue-collar workers were enrolled in adult education. A third variable of income revealed that the higher the income, the more likely that an adult may participate in adult education. A profile of the typical adult education participant:

> ... just as often a woman as a man, is typically under 40, has completed high school or more, enjoys an above-average income, works full-time and most often in a white-collar occupation, is married and has children, lives in an urbanised area but more likely in a suburb than a large city, and is found in all parts of the country, but more frequently in the West than in other regions.(1)

Contrary to a prevailing stereotype of the adult learner in "night" school, as one most in need of further schooling, the participant is more likely to be better-educated, more affluent, younger, and apt to be living outside of the central city in a suburb. And women are just as likely to be enrolled in adult education as men. Women, in preparation for seeking employment after the children are in school or have left home, are more likely to be found in adult education programmes after age 40, while men are below 30.

A dramatic illustration of the fact that the better-educated are more likely to participate than the less well-educated may be found in the NORC study. "Among those with less than five years of schooling only 43 per cent could think of something they wanted to learn more about as compared with 87 per cent among those who had attended school for 16 years or more."(2)

It may be that the passive non-participants among the poor are more likely to internalise an attitude that adult education has no relevance for them, given their unsatisfactory experiences in school at an earlier age or the lack of motivation for continuing education growing from their work. At the same time, many blue-collar workers, while less apt to be participants, are more in need of education than any other group.

Why do we find disadvantaged segments of our population indifferent to existing educational opportunities for adults? In a study carried out by one of the authors, of blue-collar workers in a variety of industries, a consistent finding was that workers discounted further education for themselves but, in overwhelming numbers, hoped that their children would be able to get more schooling so that they could secure employment in white-collar occupations.(3)

---

1) Johnstone and Rivera, op. cit., p. 8.

2) Ibid., p. 13.

3) Seidman, Joel, London, Jack, Karsh, Bernard, and Taglicozzo, D.L., The Worker Views His Union, University of Chicago Press, 1958.

The most common expectation that our society holds for the education of children is that they will be able to get better jobs than their parents. The person in the street is more likely to define the value of education in terms of securing employment than in terms of any other single factor. The refrain is: finish high school to become eligible for a better job. And for apparently good reasons. "Occupation in American society is the most significant status-conferring role ... A job also represents a given way of life, given values, and given identification."(1) We find that many adults are more likely to pursue studies for vocational reasons than any other cause. The Johnstone-Rivera study reported that adults are least likely to study academic subjects; the study of practical matters is more attractive to adult students than theoretical subjects. Independent study is more likely to involve recreational and leisure pursuits while attendance at formal adult education programmes is more apt to be job-related.(2) Another interesting finding is that "At all ages, more men were concerned with vocational goals while women enrolled relatively more often in response to home and family life and leisure-time interests."(3)

Poverty selects out the non-participants. The evidence is clear that large segments of our population are denied equal access to education; the children of the poor are likely to be discriminated against within the schools provided for them in the slums. If a few make it through the system of education, we interpret such success as an indication that these were the bright and motivated who deserve to be successful. The others just "did not have it", were lazy, and lacked motivation to succeed in the schools meant to provide "equal opportunity" for all. The reality is that schools that serve the poor, minorities, and other disadvantaged have fewer and less adequate resources and teachers who are less experienced. Such evidence of conditions that make success difficult or impossible is seldom cited.

The memory of failure pervades the lives of many adults who resist the offerings available in some communities for additional education. For their children, yes, maybe, they say, but not for themselves. Schooling and schools imply academic subjects, material unrelated to their real world, and memories of past failures that were demeaning and insulting to their self-image. A major discriminatory mechanism has been a mindless and rigid tracking system, beginning in the first grade, that segregates the poor and operates in favour of

---

1) Brookover, Wilbur and Nosow, Sigmund, "A Sociological Analysis of Vocational Education in the United States", in Education for a Changing World of Work, Appendix III, Report of the Panel of Consultants on Vocational Education OE-80026, Office of Education, HEW, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1963, p. 46.

2) Johnstone and Rivera, op. cit., pp. 2-3.

3) Ibid., p. 11.

the more advantaged and affluent. This system is rationalised in our society by the notion that the children of the poor are incapable of benefiting from "free" public education. We point to the immigrants as examples of those who took advantage of the opportunities in the schools to "make it" in the society.(1) Black parents who complain about the schools are told to discipline their children to work harder if they want them to succeed. And to succeed may mean a diploma without a job or a job that does not require any more ability than "a strong back and a weak mind". The poor may be advised to improve the quality of their homes, to make them more supportive of what the schools are trying to do in helping everybody toward success.

> The tragedy of education in the big city slums illustrates the same principle (any effective change must come from parents achieving enough power to influence their own lives and the lives of their children so that success can be achieved for them). The children and their parents are unable to affect the schools, cannot interact successfully with the teachers and administrators. For many children, their initiative has so often been mistaken for aggression, their spontaneity has so often been met by unexpected condemnation, their very existence seems to have called forth such disapproval and revulsion, that they retreat into a fortress; they are convinced that they are powerless, that no action of theirs can make any real difference in what goes on in this alien institution. They are anaesthetised and dehumanised for the duration, and they leave school (it matters little whether as graduates or dropouts) with only a fraction of their learning capacity realised.
>
> Their parents have almost as difficult a time. No matter how desperately they try to convince the school personnel of their concern about their children - even if they are picketing and storming the doors - they are met with the bland accusation that they ignore and devalue education, that they "don't talk to their children" and that their children fail to learn because of unwholesome family conditions - in other words, that it is the parents, not the schools, who are to blame.(2)

In any society where diplomas or degrees are necessary requirements for admission to the world of work, or at least to the better jobs, the school has enormous authority and power in giving or withholding the stamp of legitimacy. Appraisals of students, even those

---

1) For a contrary view of many immigrants who did not make it, see: Greer, Colin, The Great School Legend, Basic Books, New York, 1972.

2) Ryan, op. cit., p. 244.

made in the first grade, serve to lock the individual into the system. One's life chances are often determined in childhood, and these determinations influence and limit the extent of individual potential that may be developed. Once we leave school, what we carry with us in recognition of our accomplishments - what diplomas or degrees obtained - serve in great measure to determine our life chances. Whether we are graduates or dropouts, these credentials are the currency that help determine how we will be rewarded or penalised for the rest of our lives.(1) Despite the information developed by Ivar Berg(2) to the effect that schooling has little to do with success or failure on the job, the act of certification by the school cannot be minimised. One of the authors worked in the labour movement for many years before World War II and observed the presence of many workers who pursued independent education in a serious way, to achieve a grasp of various subject matters that would be remarkable in students with advanced degrees. Now, with acceptance of the diploma or degree and the elitism that these confer, the self-confidence required to pursue such studies independently has been reduced considerably.

V. NUTRITION AND EDUCATION

The myth that all Americans have equal opportunity is disturbed by the growing awareness that malnutrition almost certainly creates permanent damage among the poor. How must we respond to the research finding that "the human brain is most vulnerable to inadequate nutrition during the earliest period of life, and the entire course of human existence is largely determined by the nutrition received during that time"?(3) An overwhelming majority of the poor are women and virtually all persons on AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children) are women.(4) Poor nutrition and health are closely related, yet only recently have we become cognisant of this association. The result of a sub-standard diet during pregnancy may be severe damage to the offspring either through impaired life chances of the child as a result of poor health and/or retardation of the child's intelligence. According to Stoch and Smythe, malnourished infants tend to have lower intelligence than most adequately nourished

---

1) Hapgood, op. cit., p. 10.

2) Berg, op. cit., p. 2.

3) Shneour, Elie, The Malnourished Mind, Anchor Press, New York, 1974, p. 1.

4) Komisar, Lucy, op. cit., p. 141.

children.(1) The evidence is growing that the results of inadequate diet at birth may never be corrected. Hurley(2) asserts that "Like poverty and disease, poverty and poor nutrition are closely associated. What is often not realised, however, is that poor nutrition and mental retardation are also associated, sometimes in a causal relationship". Children brutalised by poverty conditions even from the time of conception are virtually incapable of taking advantage of opportunities that might enhance their intellectual and physical patterns of growth. To reduce the odds against the poor as participants in adult education society may require a programme of total subsidies to improve the health condition of pregnant mothers and of children.

To further complicate the struggle of non-white minorities in seeking ways of improving their life conditions is the fact that "it is mainly the non-white minorities of this nation that have been the victims of inadequate early diet. The non-white infants of less than one year of age, United States Census figures show, are dying at nearly twice the rate of white infants".(3) Although we continue to speculate, propose research, and assess blame upon the poor for the inadequate conditions under which their children are being raised, the evidence is clear that the community and society must be involved in providing greater resources. It is evident that nutrition is the most important early environmental influence that has relevance for education. A recent Presidential Committee on Mental Retardation concluded that:

> The evidence that poor nutrition in mother and child causes mental retardation as well as other major handicaps is so overwhelming that it is time to cease quibbling over incomplete-as-yet research on the permanency of poor nutrition's effect on human beings. It is time ... and past time ... to get on with the essential work of preventing a cause of mental retardation that is both so expensive and so possible to eradicate in the United States.(4)

And throughout the lifespan, including the adult years, inadequate diet appears to be a delimiting factor upon the intellectual development of the poor. The most obvious conclusion is that if people are hungry, there is little that adult educators can do to involve them

---

1) Van Sickle, R., Mental Retardation Abstracts, I, Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1964, p. 506. A review of Stoch and Smythe, "Nutrition of Brain in Infancy", British Medical Journal, I, 1964, p. 651 in Hurley, p. 67.

2) Hurley, Roger, Poverty and Mental Retardation: A Causal Relationship, Vintage Books, New York, 1969, p. 65.

3) Shneour, op. cit., p. 9.

4) President's Committee on Mental Retardation, MR 70, The Decisive Decade, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1971, p. 5.

in continuing education. We may even assert that adult educators who neglect to be concerned about the living conditions of poor people will have little success in recruiting those people to their programmes.

VI. WHO ARE THE FORGOTTEN PEOPLE?

In a society with compulsory school requirements and several thousand institutions of higher learning, it is a paradox that so many millions of adults haven't the education to function effectively. Of these American adults, 48 per cent in gross numbers have not completed high school. Out of about 110 million adults who are 25 years and older, more than 57 million are educated below the high school level. Those who have not ever attended any school, number 1,768,293! In spite of compulsory school requirements, three-fourths of a million young people among the 14 and 15 year-olds are not in school but are employed full-time in the labour force.

In California, the largest State in the nation, some four million adults who are 25 years and older (37 per cent of this age group) have not completed high school; 5.7 per cent completed five years or less; and almost 164 thousand California adults who are 25 and older have not attended school at all. In viewing the median school years completed within California, we find among the total adult population 12.3 years of schooling. White males are reported at 12.5 years, black males at 11.9 years, and males of Spanish heritage at 10.8 years. Those at the lowest level of educational attainment are female persons of Spanish heritage at 10.4 years. Despite the needs of minorities for basic education, a majority of adult basic education students enrolled in ABE classes in 1970-71 were white. Although Black adults constitute a substantially larger percentage of the economically disadvantaged population, only 8.2 per cent of the ABE students were Black compared to 17.2 per cent oriental.(1)

In identifying those segments of the population who are underrepresented in adult education activities, we listed various groups who may be considered to be marginal, disfunctional, of low status, and examined more closely those in poverty and members of racial minorities. Other outsiders in our society include, for some purposes, Italian Americans, Polish, Cubans, Puerto-Ricans, Arabs, Jews, post-adolescents, those in late middle-age (55-64), divorced, widowed and never married men and women, religious minorities, conscientious objectors, pacifists, political extremists, migrant

---

1) National Advisory Committee on Adult Education, State Demographic Data in Adult Education, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1973.

farm workers, left-handed people, hoboes, etc. But the more encompassing categories are still those of the poor and racial minorities. Until there are changes made in the system, until these groups are provided (or grasp for themselves) opportunities for self-betterment they will neither enter into the society as equal participants or fully share benefits of that society, a major one of which is education.

> The tactics utilised by the poor and other outsiders to attempt to better their own life situation are usually discredited as improper, dangerous, or immoral, whereas the more sophisticated tactics used by the wealthy and powerful to control or exploit the outsider are rationalised as proper, necessary, and moral - or else their use is carefully disguised and denied.(1)

> Until Blacks began to assert themselves and to demand the opportunity to participate in decisions that affected them ... they were largely discounted as a powerless, incapable minority whose welfare and opportunities were best left in the hands of the financially capable, politically powerful, well-educated whites.(2)

VII. WHAT SHOULD WE DO?

Despite the set-backs in the war on poverty and the gloomy prognosis for the narrowing of the economic gap between rich and poor, educators must preserve a cautious optimism that education can be an effective tool in breaking the poverty cycle.(3) If education has helped to perpetuate racial myths, it can, more painfully perhaps, help to destroy them. If schools are now used to help predetermine and identify the successes and failures in society, they can be reoriented to do their proper job of educating all of the people. If education has been an instrument for the preservation of the status quo, it can be, if we possess the will, an instrument for change. We must look to our own history to determine the influence of schools and universities during the 19th and 20th centuries. We should look to the experience of co-operative/agricultural extension which, in its conception and early years, at least produced remarkable changes in the lives of rural Americans.(4)

---

1) Spiegel and Keith-Spiegel, *op. cit.*, p. 620.

2) *Ibid*., p. 614.

3) An excellent study of basic adult education is forthcoming in Jack D. Mezirow, et al., *Last Gamble on Education: Undereducated Adults in the Classroom*, 1974.

4) Since World War II, agricultural extension has been developing a "trained incapacity" to serve the small farmer. Cf. Jim Hightower, *Hard Tomatoes, Hard Times*, Task Force on the Land Grant College Complex/Agribusiness Accountability Project, 1972.

All of the failures of the war on poverty were not necessarily inherent. Some community development programmes did make headway, against very great odds. Group identity was nurtured and grew in some communities. And there emerged some models for the young who did not "defect" to the middle class. To build an adult and continuing education programme that will reach the forgotten people, we should build on these few evidences of progress, as well as introducing new elements for effecting change. As we have seen, new programmes must include the economic and political measures that are essential to any educational effort on behalf of the disadvantaged. Without this attention to the total problem, we will continue to serve only the insiders. Those outside will stay there.

The first obstacle we encounter in educating the outsider is in recruitment. Invitations extended by way of the organs of the middle class - radio, television, newspapers, magazines, mail announcements, etc. - simply do not reach the "forgotten people". The addressee is "unknown". If a message should get through it is found to be voiced or written in a language that is unintelligible, or, worse, it is understood and rejected out of anger and resentment or feelings of inadequacy. Recruitment of the hard core - the racial minorities, working mothers, high school dropouts, unemployed and underemployed, the aged, the foreign born, etc. - is best done by word of mouth, by friends and neighbours in a familiar and non-intimidating setting. Door-to-door recruitment by those living in the neighbourhood does work. The co-sponsorship of educational programmes by employers, churches, community organisations and the like can ensure a pool of prospective students. Making school attendance compulsory as a condition for receiving welfare aid is a more drastic step, but one that might be considered.(1)

The use of outreach and feeder classes, in a limited sense, is an effective means for teaching the hard core and introducing them to the educational process. These classes are housed in the neighbourhoods, in familiar surroundings. A first advantage of such "store front" programmes is that they make attendance as convenient and non-threatening as possible for those who are hardest to recruit. In addition, the neighbourhood educational programme has more visibility in the community and, therefore, may have more local support. Where co-sponsorship is employed, the fellowship of a church or the communal experience of an organisation can help create a more effective learning environment.

The disadvantages of using scattered classroom facilities must also be considered. The cost of such classes is greater and the problems of co-ordination, communication, and logistics are more

---

1) Frese, Hermann H., "Permanent Education - Dream or Nightmare", in Education and Culture (Summer 1972), Strasbourg, pp. 9-13.

complicated in administering programmes from a distance. Facilities are inevitably poorer than those of the campus of adult education centres, and the comparison may engender criticism because of the "second-class" nature of the community facilities. These improvised classroom settings may lack instructional materials and equipment. The small sizes of such classes, while advantageous for other reasons, makes it difficult to group students by achievement levels. Finally, it is not easy to provide counselling services at a variety of widely separated locations.

Nevertheless, outreach and feeder classes go far in overcoming the fear and misunderstanding of any educational programme designed for the poor and disadvantaged. Once functional, these programmes can recruit more and more students to be fed into the more conventional offerings on campuses and at adult centres. They make an easy first-step possible for the hard core and serve as a way-station for late enrollees. Learning at a faster pace is possible in such classes through the organisation of more homogeneous learning groups to share experiences and to support attitudinal change and the evolution of common values.

The typical teaching pattern in basic education includes i) presentation of material to the student, ii) recitation by and testing of the student, and iii) correcting the student. Variations of this pattern must be adopted in our attempts to improve the effectiveness of instruction for the hard core.

Students may be addressed at any one of three levels of instruction: as members of a class, as members of a sub-group within the class, or as individuals. At the first level, the class may be presented with an assignment that may consist of a problem, dictation, demonstration or a series of questions. Students may be asked to respond as a class or as individuals, reciting or working at the blackboard. At this level, the instructor reviews the work done by the class, probably at a previous session, and answers questions.

The approach at a group level involves the creation of small seminars of students to maximise participation. Here the instructor asks questions and discusses the responses with the group.

There are a number of ways of enhancing the effectiveness of instruction at the individual level which may be done while the class as a whole is working on a problem or exercise. The teacher may systematically work with each student until he has met with all of them. He may seek out those students who are having trouble and work with them on the exercise while it is in progress, or be available as a resource person for the same purpose. He may encourage more advanced students to tutor others on an individual basis; teaching aides may be used to provide the same kind of one-to-one assistance.

The use of confidential feedback to the student and evaluations from the students of the value of their learning experiences are essential to the success of the programme. The process must begin early, must be continuing, and must be conducted in good faith in order to provide the essential element of self-determination. Other ways to enhance the programme and to deter dropouts include the use of minimum failure as a teaching tactic and allowing the students to dictate the speed of learning and the order in which content should be studied. The instructor should remember that the presentation of abstract ideas should be made in terms of the lives of the students. No other group is more suspicious, and rightly, of material that appears irrelevant to their situation.

In the application of innovative approaches to the instruction of the hard core, it is well to remember that all adult education, and particularly that designed for the hardest-to-reach, should be practised from the point of view of the student and his needs. Content and format are secondary. Students should be allowed to determine the order and content of learning in a non-rigid, mutually-arrived-at sequence. Classroom control is not a problem here as it is in schools for children. On the contrary, these adult students may have to be encouraged to "loosen up".

Instruction should begin with people where they are and move them toward their goal. Success can be built into the programme at an early point by allowing each to proceed at his own pace. Failure should not be considered possible, particularly at the beginning.

Personalised instruction can be reinforced by keeping groups small - no more than ten, perhaps - with each group working on different content. Other techniques include the use of television and mobile learning units; moving classes into the homes of local residents to further assuage feelings of apprehension; and the teaching of coping skills that are relevant to the students as workers, consumers, parents, citizen-voters, welfare recipients, members of a racial minority, etc.

At best, adult education is a marginal enterprise in the American education system. Its students are non-captive and must be powerfully motivated, in comparison to others. The faculty for adult education is, in the main, made up of part-time "moonlighters" with full-time occupations elsewhere, and very few are professional specialists in adult education. Facilities are, more often than not, rented or borrowed from other institutions or grudgingly "on loan" from a parent school or campus. The funding pattern for adult education is unpredictable and, traditionally, very low compared to that of other segments. In some States, at some levels, funding is non-existent and costs must be recovered from student fees. Under these circumstances, the task of recruiting the hard core into adult education programmes and retaining them is a formidable one. Also, the

160

high cost of providing the hard-core poor more individualised attention means that this group is neglected in favour of more mobile striving persons.

Whereas most adult students are non-captive, the poor adult may be least motivated to enroll and most likely to drop out. (And even among the hard core, a selection process takes place. The "harder core" may be excluded at the outset of such an undertaking. Some educators contend that limited resources should be expended where they will do the most good - among the more highly motivated, the most middle class in outlook, the most likely to succeed. The authors feel that we must create the most inclusive and comprehensive programme possible, to avoid further fracturing and alienation among the very group we are trying to reach.) We have suggested some methods for recruitment and for creating a non-threatening learning environment. We have also suggested that one should begin with non-traditional methods of teaching material that is relevant to the lives of the students - those coping skills that will help them, at once, perhaps, to effect some positive changes in their lives.

Techniques for accommodating late starters and returning absentees can be supportive of the entire group and the "harder core". Just as failure is not permitted, neither is competition between individuals or groups of students. The inevitable consequence of competition is reinforcement of the success-failure pattern. If one succeeds through competition, another must fail. Various classroom tactics may be employed to avert failure when mistakes occur: prompting the student's answer; permitting delayed responses; redefining the problem into simple components; rephrasing a troublesome question; providing an alternative assignment that is easier; postponing testing and coaching for tests; avoiding judgmental observations on the student's ability or capacity for learning.

The faculty for such programmes must have pre-service and/or in-service training to help them adapt their teaching skills to the new situation. The use of supervisory coaching by more experienced teachers can be useful in this regard. Many of the determinants that influence adult classroom interaction will be new to teachers from other segments of the education system. For example, the teacher will feel necessarily a personal responsibility for maintaining regular attendance in class, since there are no extrinsic incentives to deter dropouts. The teacher will be confronted with extreme diversity among students and the needs that motivate them to enroll. One will be seeking a better job; another wants help in passing a Civil Service examination; a third needs to acquire a driver's licence or wants to be able to help his children with their homework. Others will want simply to pass the time or socialise. In the face of this diversification, we re-emphasize the need for personalised attention, coupled with the choice of coping skills as the beginning place for adult education of the hard core. Another dimension to teaching disadvantaged adults that has nothing to do with content is found in those characteristics of the students that fall outside middle class norms: apprehension and expectation of failure; consciousness of being slighted and taking offence easily; limited energy and attention span; lack of skill in how to learn; varied concepts of time.

Any programme that presumes to educate the hard core will prove to be more expensive than conventional adult education, both in terms of funds expended and the amount of attention that must be given to "non-educational" aspects of the programme. Such an effort must have a local, full-time director who will supervise the recruiting and training of teachers, the acquisition of classroom space, the recruiting of students, the maintenance of liaisons within the community for the development of co-sponsored programmes, curriculum building, and the many supporting services that must be provided if the programme is to have continuity.

A separate funding agreement must be established not only to pay the higher costs of this sort of educational programme, but to provide those services not ordinarily associated with adult education. For example, free child care facilities are essential, to make it possible for mothers to come to class. Students must be given allowances for transportation costs to and from class. A vocational counselling and job referral service should be provided for the unemployed. A dual reporting system of class attendance that differentiates between the hard core and the higher mobile adults must be established in order to take into account the non-middle class "eccentricities" of the disadvantaged that were described earlier.

Effective counselling, careful attention to the matching of students with the appropriate classes, orientation and skill learning for new students, providing students with feedback on a confidential level, the teaching of coping skills, the nurturing of word-of-mouth recruitment - all of these characterise the personalised one-to-one nature of effective adult education programmes for the disadvantaged. In addition, a curriculum technician should be employed to help teachers produce more effective materials. And, for the instructors themselves, continuing in-service training with released time for workshops is essential to their success.

It is apparent from the foregoing that it will cost more for the intensive, specialised, and individual service required to recruit, educate and retain the hard core, and these inordinate costs can only be borne by the Federal government. It is also apparent that there can be no breakthrough in the education of the disadvantaged until there is a breakthrough on poverty and until there are some significant changes in the socio-economic system that preserves the status quo. We remain sceptical optimists in our hope that these breakthroughs, these changes, may arrive together and in our time. We share the hopes and beliefs in the great tradition so well expressed 47 years ago by the late Dorothy Cranfield Fisher, in her presidential address to the American Association for Adult Education. Mrs. Fisher said: "In the back of my mind I always have the idea of educating everybody."

III

INVOLVING INDUSTRIAL WORKERS IN POST-COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN GERMANY

by

Albert Pflüger

I. INDUSTRIAL WORKERS AS THE MOST IMPORTANT UNDER-REPRESENTED GROUPS IN POST-COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN GERMANY

The participant structure of the Volkshochschulen indicates that certain selection processes are at work which put specific social groups at a disadvantage as far as their participation in post-compulsory education is concerned.

Apart from changes in social structures and legislation, the fact still remains that quite a large proportion, especially of the male population, spend a considerable part of the day in specific, concrete working conditions, on the production line, in large industrial concerns. This group, which leads a typical worker's existence, will be the focal point of these discussions. The following argument starts from the assumption that working conditions have some influence on the industrial workers' attitude to life, and in particular on their conception of education and their incentive to acquire the latter. If we accept the environmental influence of the work situation and link this with studies in social psychology and the theory of learning, we should find solutions to counter the low educational motivation.

Although the available statistical material is quite inadequate, there is no doubt that workers, as defined in this context, are severely under-represented amongst students of the Volkshochschulen. According to the statistical yearbooks, the proportion of manual workers in the total working population of the Federal Republic is admittedly decreasing slowly but steadily, but nevertheless in 1962 still amounted to 48.7 per cent (1970, 46 per cent). However, according to information given by various towns, manual workers account for only 10 to 30 per cent of Volkshochschule students. A comparison with clerical workers is even more revealing. Whereas the proportion of manual workers to clerical workers in the working population is 2:1, amongst those attending Volkshochschule courses it is surprisingly constant at 1:2. This relationship is confirmed by the results of a representative survey carried out in 1959. According to this survey 36 per cent of clerical workers, 12 per cent of skilled workers and only 5 per cent of semi-skilled and unskilled workers have already attended the Volkshochschule (Strzelewicz). Even if the conventional division into unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled workers is no longer in keeping with industrial reality, the educational non-participation particularly of manual workers in the less skilled categories is clear.

In this context we must not ignore the increasing internal differentiation within the manual working population, which stems from the differentiation of work functions as a result of technological progress. This has partly dispersed the socio-political centres of power, partly concentrated them; at any rate it has made them less obvious. In this way coalition of dependents becomes more difficult and therefore class solidarity can no longer act as a dynamic factor in changing social conditions. We must not however overlook the fact that in large industrial concerns the workers have retained a certain sense of fraternity, even if the accompanying behaviour style does not lead to group action but is apparent only occasionally according to the prevailing mood (Popitz).

II. THE MANUAL WORKER - CLERICAL WORKER DISTINCTION

For the social conditions under which post-compulsory education takes place, the development of the social structure is of decisive importance. A significant fact in this context is that the number of those taking an active part in production is becoming increasingly smaller in relation to the number of those in the work preparation and distribution sectors. This sort of development is not limited to quantitative expressions, but also results in changes in mentality. Satisfaction with existing conditions has increased.

The answer to the question as to how much significance is still attached to the distinction between manual and clerical workers is even more important. If, in addition, the traditional grounds for this distinction are examined in terms of their current applicability, we find that assumptions of the mainly intellectual and supervisory function of the office worker in contrast to the manual and executive activity of the industrial worker are no longer fully valid. At least we must distinguish between clerical workers with managerial, supervisory and executive functions. Workers, too, may have managerial and supervisory functions. Technological development has meant that intellectual work can no longer be considered a valid criterion of distinction. Therefore on the hierarchy of functions there would seem to be no clear distinction between manual and clerical workers (Neundörfer).

This lack of distinction may also be partly applied to remuneration. Admittedly the average remuneration for clerical workers is still, in terms of statistics, significantly higher. In both groups however the pay scale is graded in such a way that there are already quite a significant number of overlaps. But the psychological effect of the different wage calculation and payment system should not be underestimated, for it has an influence on outlook, habits and self-respect. But here too we can see the tendency towards assimilation. The differences in socio-legal status have been largely levelled out by the new legislation on health insurance (1961), old age insurance (1957), unemployment insurance (1957), and on the right to notice (1951). On the other hand, compensation arrangements in the wage agreements and the regulations on leave remain unchanged.

The manual workers have not really become aware of the clear tendency towards formal legal and material assimilation. The reason for this could well be that the traditional distinguishing features are still confirmed through direct experience. The worker senses even more acutely that the firm has a disciplining effect and is itself a method of imposing discipline. In addition the fear of unemployment is greater amongst manual workers than clerical workers. There are also concrete facts such as the remarkably frequent incidence of early disablement, which has remained a specific characteristic of manual workers.

In spite of continuing differences there has recently been a definite change in the factory conditions of industrial work. Instead of physical exertion the ability to react is required, for speedy reactions and accuracy are particularly important in dealing with mechanically-transmitted abstract signs and symbols. Qualities such as dependability, accuracy, integrity and technical aptitude (Popitz, Bahrdt) are more in demand than physical capacities. The work often necessitates a change-over from analogical to causal thinking. Therefore quite considerable intellectual demands are made. At the same time, however, the work creates such nervous strain that usually no desire for education arises from it.

The changes in work requirements have had some effect on the social structure of the firm. As a result, horizontal co-operation is gaining in importance whereas control "from above" is becoming less significant. Guiding and advising take the place of ordering and example (Lepsius). Admittedly this does not eliminate the hierarchy of the firm, i.e. an institutionalised graded system of superiors and subordinates, designed to ensure functional efficiency and the greatest possible profitability. For the industrial worker the firm's hierarchy is still impenetrable, so that, in comparison with political and family life, it is bound to be felt authoritarian. Human relations and participation could modify this situation, but not change it. Because the climate in the firm is seldom conducive to openly discussing conflict situations and using one's own initiative, educationally stimulating impulses are unlikely to develop from the work situation. As a result, workers devote their whole ingenuity to getting round the rules, which is partly a necessity because these have been evolved from theory and do not facilitate what has to be done in practice. The manual worker does basically appreciate the criteria of competition - initiative, originality, spirit of enterprise -, but, in contrast to the clerical worker, he imagines that he starts with such a handicap that it is not worth his while to use these abilities.

In any case subjective evaluations do help to maintain class distinctions and communication barriers between manual workers and clerical workers. Manual workers see the clerical workers as being unjustifiably better off, and feel that they themselves are still being discriminated against. Accordingly, workers often still have a dichotomous view of society, in which human society is rigidly divided into "upper" and "lower" levels, the workers inevitably belonging to the lower level. In contrast clerical workers have a hierarchical picture of society (Popitz, Bahrdt). It would appear a decisive fact in our argument that the worker's view of society prevents him from fully recognising the possibilities of education. In keeping with the different views of society, is the fact that manual workers have only slight hopes of advancement (Ehrhardt) whereas to aspire to being something different and better would seem to be the major driving force behind clerical workers. An even more radical aspect is the general attitude to work: the manual worker regards his job as a functional activity, necessary to keep him alive, but it has no personal value for him. In contrast, especially in middle management, people hold the middle-class view of work, i.e. that work is a means of personal development, and thus demands an educational equivalent.

III. USUAL REASONS FOR THE NON-PARTICIPATION OF WORKERS IN POST-COMPULSORY EDUCATION

Three catch phrases are always mentioned in connection with the under-representation of workers in post-compulsory education: lack of money, time and ability. All three contain something of the truth, but they are in no way cogent.

It is said that the workers' educational needs must wait because the material conditions for satisfying them are not available; this relates to past experience. In the present situation it is often argued, especially by using high wages as an example, that we can no longer speak of financial limitations. However, we should be careful with the theory "money is not relevant", because, on average, the manual workers' net household income is still very low. Yet, the criteria for the allocation of the family budget could well play a more decisive role than the income itself. It depends which expenditures are considered necessary and of priority and which items are regarded as extras and luxuries. The differences which may be observed between manual workers and clerical workers, in this context, refer to the fact that there are links between spending habits and group-oriented social norms. Manual workers seem to find expenditure for direct, tangible purposes more profitable, so that the value of spending money on education is not as obvious. The question of financial limitations as regards participation in post-compulsory education refers, therefore, mainly to subjective feelings and the corresponding attitudes to money.

The argument which is even more frequently heard, that manual workers do not have enough time may be dealt with in the same way. Admittedly it has not yet been objectively proved that there has been a reduction in working time. But it would be wrong to consider the work-leisure relationship quantitatively. We must bear in mind that a reduction in work time has often meant greater nervous strain during work, with the result that the need for recreation has also grown. As far as shift workers are concerned, it is not only difficult to fit educational facilities into their work pattern but their anomalous life pattern easily leads to their losing the sense of continuity which is necessary for willingness to participate in education (Bahrdt).

A man cannot lead different lives in work and leisure forever. Impressions and experiences gained at work influence his private life. Here he would like to find something complementary to the atmosphere at work and this will seldom take the form of effort, like educational activity. In addition, intensive surveys indicate that over-fatigue is the obstacle the most frequently stated with regard to educational activity in leisure time. Yet, according to experience, even fatigue is not an objective reason, but results from self-imposed demands and the basic attitude. Clearly neither really refer to educational opportunities as a means of increasing self-awareness.

It is an over-simplification to claim that barriers to workers participating in education stem from lack of ability. Such an assumption implies that ability is something one is born with, something distributed by nature, and whose availability varies within the social hierarchy. This traditional idea which, at the same time, justifies the social distribution of ability, is confirmed by the German class-oriented school system; however, on the basis of the following three studies, it is no longer valid:

- Even if the usual school standards are applied, we can still detect untapped reserves of ability (Müller, Edding).
- A school child's motivation is largely dependent on the educational goal which is determined by the parents (Knebel-Kob).
- Ability is in no way pre-determined. It develops in the course of a differentiation and affirmation process to the extent to which it is evoked. Whether productive learning

ability is aroused and a questioning attitude is determined by the environmental factor - although it is not an invariable factor (Roth, Wewetzer).

Therefore, instead of looking amongst the manual workers themselves for the reasons for their under-representation amongst participants in post-compulsory education and apart from the fact that the work and environmental conditions give little educational stimulus, we should examine more closely psychological and socio-psychological conditions of worker-oriented teaching procedures. Learning difficulties, stemming from sub-culture norms and communication barriers appear to play a significant role in this context.

IV. SOCIAL INTERACTION AND LEARNING PROCESSES

Learning is not simply an act taking place between the individual's mind and the subject matter, it is more a process of social interaction (Stendenbach). Instead of regarding a person as either a completely unrestricted, autonomous being or as one totally bound to a group, as would be in keeping with German educational tradition, we must realise that, in his social being, a person is moulded, along with others, by his environment. In this way the person is assigned, from an existential and value point of view, a position through the relationship system in the associative group. The constituent associates have behavioural expectations and make demands which arise from their positions and functions, and as a result expectations and demands are also directed at themselves. The development of the socio-cultural person results from interaction and each characteristic may be related to a particular group-oriented role structure. A person is, therefore, in a network of interaction, which gives him certain rights and duties whose reciprocal fulfilment guarantees an orderly co-existence, (Dahrendorf, Stendenbach, Wurzbacher). The greater the division of labour in a society, the more important this would seem to be.

The demands made by the environment initiate learning processes which guarantee the continuation of culture-specific behaviour modes, and these are upheld by a social control, which within certain toleration limits produces behavioural conformity. The personality structure evolved in this way reflects the social structure in which the person lives. The desire to maintain the co-operation structure leads to far-reaching complementarity of mutual role expectations and controls, for every change in categorisation criteria and methods demands new attitudes, which, in turn, produce tensions, uncertainties and crises.

Rewards and punishments produce adjustment. Here we must distinguish between two adjustment reactions. One type conforms to technical necessity. Admittedly, the behavioural changes which take place permit the appropriate management and the operation of new equipment, but they do not lead to a suitable confrontation with new environmental conditions; above all they do not have adequate results in interpersonal communication. Here adjustment means clinging to what has been handed down by tradition. Our society, with its high division of labour and its built-in tendency to change, does not however permit any unthinking growth into accepted behaviour patterns. The second, realistic type of adjustment takes this into account. It enables new situations to be encountered and permits a differentiation in behavioural accentuation towards associates. The insertion in expectation fields does not imply behavioural cogency. However, with the possibility of role differentiation the personal identity is questioned and thus the process of growing up becomes a special problem. It assumes apparently contradictory tasks. Adjustment to environmental conditions and self-identification are demanded at the same time. Society provides certain aids, but these, as a result of group-typical behaviour expectations, are adopted in different ways and adapted into the individual activity.

In this context learning appears as an internalisation process. It is valuable to recall, explicitly, ideas about learning which affect motivation, the impact of reward, reinforcement and feedback mechanisms. Particularly with those people whose pleasure in, and habit of, learning can no longer be taken for granted, pliability is not an endogenous factor; on the contrary, it depends on their environment, their commitments, the pressure on them and their encouragement by rewards. This prerequisite has generally been overlooked in German post-compulsory education, which is directed at an over-estimated conception of the adult, and which has had therefore to accept a self-imposed limitation on its field of influence. It would be as well to understand that learning, in its widest sense, is the appropriate imitation of expected roles, in order to achieve optimal satisfaction by mutually confirming and strengthening the behaviour patterns. The behavioural norms of the reference group thus produce a group-specific way of adopting and adapting reality. The most important tasks of those wishing to impart education would seem to be: to establish the social components and functions of these norms, to define the groups and to facilitate interchanges between them.

V. LANGUAGE AS A COMMUNICATION BARRIER

Learning takes place as a process of interaction through communication. Its main medium is language. This is not only a means of learning, but also moulds what is learnt. It has an effect on the selection of the aspect of the world which the learner is getting to know. Above all, we must here look for the communication difficulties already mentioned. They in no way stem from the individuality of a specialised academic language which has been developed so as to avoid internal misunderstandings and to afford protection from the outside world. We would do better, in a wider context, to think in terms of an interaction between linguistic structures and understanding of the world; for it is this interaction which makes class boundaries appear as communication boundaries, thus leading to group-oriented reference systems and group-strengthening screening processes. Linguistic ability determines, through its categories, the concept of life, which people like to confirm, mutually, and without interference. Language. therefore, reflects a person's environment and at the same time provides a means of social control.

We must then ask ourselves what sort of linguistic or comprehension difficulties they are, and to what extent they are connected with learning difficulties. Here we can draw on Basil Bernstein's studies; he has identified group distinctive features in language usage, and therefore, knowing the socially determined concepts of education, the results of our examinations into socially determined ideas on education will be confirmed or completed.

Foreign words are an example of how social ideas can impede the learning process. They are however not a problem because they cannot be learned, but because they create barriers; the use of foreign words is taken to be the sign of an educated person and therefore someone of higher status. They are resisted because they stand for a demand level, which is either a cause of despair or which is rejected.

The most serious barriers for the communication of ideas are not to be found in vocabulary but in syntax, i.e. the linguistic processing of what has been experienced and what is to be communicated. It is here that communication barriers arise, which we are able to define more precisely as a result of Bernstein's work. We can distinguish between "formal speech" and "common speech". According to Bernstein, in the latter the style is grammatically simple. Individual sentences follow each other cumulatively without being related. A thought relationship through clauses is rare. Impersonal pronouns such as "man" and "es" ("one" and "it") are rarely used in talking of the abstract. The use of adjectives, adverbs and conjunctions is infrequent and inflexible. Expressions are hampered by the penetration of the spoken language. Instead of consecutive discourse the conversation goes round in a circle - the typical form of common speech and also a means and expression of self-affirmation. Its major disadvantages for learning lies in its inability to express systems, generalisations and distinctions. The extent to which common speech may be adapted and thus the amount which it can communicate is limited. Mental capacities for differentiation cannot be extensively practised.

In contrast, formal speech is distinguished by grammatically complex sentence constructions. The flexible use of conjunctions and prepositions plays a particularly important part here. The selection and positioning of adjectives and adverbs to produce fine nuances of meaning reinforce the complex nature of the type of language. Clauses capable of many variations enable logical modifications to be made. The development of relations within and between sentences leads to a syntactic category system which refers to assumptions, reasons and conclusions.

In this summary of Bernstein's analyses we have transcribed the group-determining speech habits, which have a socially differentiating effect. For reference groups are not so much determined by what they say as how they say it. It is not so much the words as the intellectual links which prevent the student from understanding what the teacher has to say. It is the interrelationships, expressed through the clauses, which produce difficulties in understanding which in turn hinder the learning process.

The fact that formal speech is demanded or practised in schools is particularly detrimental to the learning situation. Success at school depends largely on linguistic ability and therefore on the child's opportunity to practice formal speech beforehand in the home. Therefore those who have been accustomed right from the start to the differentiating possibilities of language and to the transfer between linguistic planes are always at an advantage. By using the formal speech they are not involved in any conflict, as happens with those who have to learn something at school which is not recognised and confirmed by the reality of their surroundings. Only when the demand for linguistic flexibility is internalised, is the opportunity created to communicate. The more this happens, the greater the chance of what has been learnt being applied to new situations. Amongst other things this would account for the fact that an adult's willingness and ability to continue to learn is greater, the longer he was able to go to school (Strzelewicz et al).

From these observations on the different types of language it becomes clear to what extent working class children are at a disadvantage and why their scholastic performance often remains below their learning capacity which can be proved through tests. It is not the much quoted talent which determines learning development but the structure of the environment (Roth). This development in working class children is hampered by a dual motivation context.

We must accept that the social structure, which is normally described in terms of the distinctions between middle and lower classes, is consolidated through two types of language usage: communicative and expressive. These types are formed right from early childhood. The feeling for the indirect forms of expression, for relationships and distinction, cannot be awakened early enough, because it is a determining factor in the structuring of emotions and moulds interactions and reactions. If language is felt to be a means of categorising and achieving things, then it will relieve tension and will release energy for learning (Segerstedt, Torgny). Association with language does not thus become an end in itself, but expresses in words personal and object relationships and opens up perspectives for the future. If language cannot be adapted to a means of categorisation, then a feeling of disorientation ensues. The person is unable to direct his activity and confines himself to defence reactions. Instead of entertaining ideas of purpose the person has pipe dreams, which cannot be transformed into a desire for education, because the means of realising his aims are not available. Those who are not always aware of the operative nature of language can albeit learn by heart, but there is no processing of the material, which would lead to an understanding of the subject and to the learning being continued. As language can be used properly only if its function is understood, the learning process is disturbed. As a result, learning handicaps are increased. Learning attainment is not, however, dependent only upon the strength of motivation but also on the awareness of success. Energy for learning must flag if there are no future prospects, no point in sight. The point is dependent upon each type of learning. If we try to describe these types we will find parallels with our distinction between communicative and expressive language types and their associated class-oriented affinities. This connection is not surprising if we bear in mind that language types are the frame and the expression of ways of thinking, corresponding to group-oriented views of life.

VI. GROUP-ORIENTED LEARNING BEHAVIOUR

The method of upbringing of the reference group lays down what one should want, what is to be striven for and what is irrelevant. The orientation of behaviour towards the environmental group makes the group's level of demand the motive behind the effort put into learning. The height of aspiration of the reference group either increases the motivation to learn or inhibits and handicaps the desire to learn which was originally there. The latter would appear to be the case with manual workers, or at least if one uses scholastic performance as a criterion. Amongst manual workers, the question as to the point of further education is, usually, answered rather thoughtlessly and in this way the horizon, to which the desire to learn can be directed, is narrowed. The question as to whether it is worth learning anything is answered on the basis of inappropriate standards because there is not sufficient experience of the effects learning could have. Studies carried out by Strzelewicz and others reveal that, on average, the population is quite aware of the imponderables of the effect of education; but that one judges education more in concrete terms if one has had few opportunities in one's youth to acquire education. The effect of such an attitude goes further, in that it becomes the standard for learning behaviour and because the norms of the associative group reinforce it. It is not only the family, during childhood, which has an influence but also, later, the work situation. Here, too, the worker encounters acquired knowledge in the form of instructions. The usefulness of this knowledge is his main concern. It easily becomes his sole reference point for education. If, however, the interest is limited to clearly defined knowledge, then the learning capacity is narrowed and the already few opportunities which the worker has to differentiate experiences are not exploited.

It is therefore not surprising that the casuistic type of learning which is unmistakably similar to common speech, is mainly found in the lower classes. There learning is an imitative, additive process, proceeding from one task to the next without envisaging the possibility of transferring the knowledge. Learning is confined to the concrete; the student still thinks in pictures, and the ability to see the links is not developed. The sentences used in teaching are not related to one another, with the result that it is always necessary to start all over again, and, consequently, the enthusiasm for learning flags. If learning continues to take place in point form, then it conflicts with reality and must eventually seem pointless. In contrast to the second type of learning, which is meaning-oriented, the available learning motivation is confined to a completion of concrete tasks and does not engender any continuity of educational effort. In contrast to partial casuistic thinking, meaning-oriented thinking is directed at recognising functional similarities, making distinctions, and at drawing conceptual parallels. It uses conceptualisation and, obviously, works with abstractions. In this way, thinking is freed from its dependence on direct experience and events can be considered in their complex relativity, and as a result there is an incentive to continue to learn. There is a further incentive in the fact that meaning-oriented learning gives a justifiable rather than a false sense of security in dealing with the new knowledge. The degree of security has a visible effect upon knowledge retention; meaning-oriented learning is, therefore, stimulating and increases educational attainment (Stendenbach).

VII. FURTHER BARRIERS IN POST-COMPULSORY EDUCATION

In considering why manual workers do not take part in post-compulsory education we must look at the way in which this is offered to them. We have, therefore, to describe their impression of post-compulsory education and then ask ourselves how it has helped to create this impression.

The manual worker's actual concept of "education" and the one which the teachers would like him to have are two different things. He does not really know what to do with education, and has had bad experience of it in the past. He cannot imagine education without social influence. He doubts whether it is being given for his benefit and whether it will be of use in his own reasoning ability. The lower the social status, the sooner the person thinks that the motive behind education is manipulative. The manual worker suspects that it is a pretence. A variation on this theme is the fact that general education is recognised as being valuable, but precisely because it is out of the reach of the manual worker, it is considered a feature and a privilege of the upper classes. Contact with culture is felt to be a prestige factor, a social privilege and an expression of social elevation (Ehrhardt). These impressions are fully justified, because from the workers' point of view that which is unproductive would seem socially important, whereas individual productive activity is not appropriately rewarded. Therefore, the deep-rooted suspicion of theoretical and non-practical work hinders the desire to learn. Other reasons for the manual workers' attitude, as described above, are that they only come into contact with so-called educated people in situations where these people are in a superior position (Ehrhardt) and that also the work situation normally provides little encouragement to recognise the value of the offer of free education.

In addition to these objective intellectual barriers, we must also realise that the behaviour mode of those offering the education helps to make the barriers insuperable. Amongst the older generation anti-technological feelings have an adverse effect upon communication. The manual worker must accept the world in which he lives before he can bring himself to take part in an education which is not a form of escapism - especially as he does not always find the human domination of technology (Kippert) a problem. Amongst the younger generation, new difficulties have been encountered in educational ventures with industrial workers. One cannot help but notice that people all too readily consider knowledge as a possession to be played off against the students. The eager and hasty use of facts, which can only be understood intellectually, leads quickly to an intentional or unintentional linguistic alienation. In direct contact with the students we can also observe in facial and other gestures that the teacher's awareness of his own "education" leads to a behaviour which gives the impression that he is setting himself apart. Those who cannot adopt a similar mode of behaviour are unwilling to continue. The adoption of an apparent superiority often stems from the insecurity and inadequate qualifications of the teachers, or from the fact that they are using post-compulsory education as a means of making their own preferences known to others. There is often little distance between them and their subject matter, with the result that there is not the necessary degree of objectivity to make it easier for them to interest the workers in the subject.

These behavioural modalities are not only detrimental to the post-compulsory education students, but also have an effect on the formation of public opinion. As a result of the theory and practice of the Volkshochschule, two different images have been projected over the years: in one case it is thought of as a school or rather a continuation of school using less severe methods. Those who come with this in mind are often dissatisfied, because the work is not as rigorous nor as systematic as in a school. The different expectations of the students can be detrimental to the incentive to learn if the director of studies does not develop an above-average methodological dexterity (Schulenberg). If, however, we look at the second impression, which is based on theory and does not aim merely at knowledge, but at the posing of problems in order to "get the students talking", this is no more attractive to the manual worker, who is accustomed to thinking mainly in concrete terms. The fact that the needs and the interests of the manual worker are taken into account is seldom acknowledged by the manual workers themselves because it is still not clear, despite the apparent frankness, what is being offered. To the manual worker the invitation to discuss is a sign of a confidence which he does not feel he shares. Thus this mainly appeals to those who are already accustomed to such a behavioural style.

VIII. THE CONSEQUENCES FOR POST-COMPULSORY EDUCATION

The possibilities in post-compulsory education of changing the described conditions quickly and to any significant degree are slight. Although an establishment such as the Volkshochschule may criticise the current system of norms, it cannot set itself up against them.

However, this should not stop them from looking for ways of more effectively meeting the demands of the manual workers. For the criticism of the Volkshochschule implies solutions which we hope will make it a more attractive proposition to the manual worker. Before such solutions can be realised it is necessary for Federal German educational policy to receive greater importance in the public eye. It must go hand in hand with changes in school organisation, directed at making the system more flexible, and in preventing young people spending their educationally most active years in alien educational surroundings.

We must put into general practice a type of education which does not inhibit educational potential through a curricular limitation, but which provides opportunities for the individual initiative to develop. School curricula and post-compulsory education courses must be organised so as to reward both pure knowledge and a critical ability. The background experience coming from the work situation must receive serious consideration, although this does not mean that educational themes should be directly taken from the work environment. To the manual worker they seem all too obvious, and they expect that education should tell them something that they do not as yet know. Therefore, when we talk of taking the work environment seriously, we mean offering courses which are factual enough for the manual worker to see the value of the education. This assumes that in the image which the Volkshochschule projects and in its courses, the importance of attainment receives greater emphasis. If we link this to our theme, we can conclude that, providing there is some educational aim, there is no need to make education undertaken in leisure time easy for those whose work is difficult.

It goes without saying that the Volkshochschule has certain functions which can be described as being helping people to "cope with life", "to understand the environment", and "to help themselves". However, as long as it continues to advertise itself on the basis of these functions, it will continue to attract those who can understand them. This you cannot expect of manual workers. Therefore we should not talk of what we would like to achieve if we can progress no further than establishing the prerequisites. The extent to which education takes place does not merely depend on the power and influence of those wishing to impart it. We should therefore explain more clearly what can be done in this field, particularly by offering information and the opportunity for the educational programme to be developed jointly between manual workers and educationalists. This would also mean that individual needs could be taken into account, but this will continue to be seen in a positive light if a concrete output is also apparent.

Such an approach also has some bearing on the methods of acquiring knowledge. There is a danger that in the individual class-oriented experience there will be a tendency to underestimate the learning capacities of those accustomed to learning in a different way. We should seriously examine what development potential is revealed by the manual worker, if he is given appropriate learning methods. In this context we should include the presentation techniques of programmed learning and correspondence courses.

Apart from such basic considerations we must bear in mind the real questions of organisation. We therefore recommend that teachers in worker education use socially homogeneous groups (Wittig), and that post-compulsory education is carried out in the factory. However, it is necessary for the teachers to have a good relationship with the firm and for the manual workers to be mentally independent so that they realise that educational work is not done for the benefit of the firm. As far as making arrangements for shift workers is concerned, a survey conducted in major city Volkshochschulen has shown that the use of free Saturdays and weekends has not made any marked difference. Indeed, increasing professionalism and residences have opened up certain educational opportunities and this should be used in preparation for making educational leave possible. In this way, post-compulsory education is confronted with quite new problems, which must also be carefully considered. We must examine and think of ways in which we can develop post-compulsory education programmes for certain overlapping vocational groups, so that they are related to special subjects; and at the same time we must aim at making the student aware of problems in related fields, thus paving the way to broader horizons.

The considerations mentioned here may encourage people to ask where political education fits in, as it is particularly important for the manual worker. We do not in any way dispute its importance. If it is not greatly emphasized in this report it is because we cannot refer to any comprehensive literature on the subject. Since the effect of political education is largely dependant on the degree of intellectual penetration with which it is accepted, the main suggestions in this paper are also the prerequisites for political education.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Sociological Aspects

Abel, Heinrich: Berufswechsel und Berufsverbundenheit bei männlichen Arbeitnehmern in der gewerblichen Wirtschaft. Eine Untersuchung. Braunschweig 1957.

Abraham, Karl: Der Betrieb als Erziehungsfaktor. Die funktionale Erziehung durch den modernen wirtschaftlichen Betrieb. 2nd. ed. Freiburg 1957.

Bahrdt, Hans Paul: Industriebürokratie. Versuch einer Soziologie des industrialisierten Bürobetriebes und seiner Angestellten. Stuttgart 1958.

Bolte, Karl Martin: Sozialer Aufstieg und Abstieg. Stuttgart 1959.

Cattepoel, Dirk: Sozialreise durch Deutschland. Düsseldorf 1953.

Croner, Fritz: Soziologie der Angestellten. Köln 1962.

Dahrendorf, Ralf: Sozialstruktur des Betriebes. Wiesbaden 1959.

Dahrendorf, Ralf: Gesellschaft und Freiheit. München 1962.

Dahrendorf, Ralf: Industrie- und Betriebssoziologie. Berlin 1956.

Ehrhardt, Heinrich: Zum Verhältnis von Aufstiegshoffnung und Bildungsinteresse. Institut für Sozialforschung, Frankfurt/Main 1962.

Feuersenger, Marianne (ed.): Gibt es noch ein Proletariat? Frankfurt 1962.

Friedeburg, Ludwig von: Soziologie des Betriebsklimas. Frankfurt 1963.

Friedemann, Georges: Zukunft der Arbeit. Perspektiven der industriellen Gesellschaft. Köln 1953.

Fourastié, Jean: Die grosse Hoffnung des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts. Köln-Deutz 1954.

Fürstenberg, Friedrich (ed.): Industriesoziologie. Neuwied 1959.

Gasser, Christian: Der Mensch im modernen Industriebetrieb. 3rd. ed. Köln und Opladen 1958.

Hartfiel, Günter: Angestellte und Angestelltengewerkschaften in Deutschland. Berlin 1961.

Jaide, Walter: Die Berufswahl. München 1961.

Kellner, Wolfgang: Der moderne soziale Konflikt. Stuttgart 1961.

Knebel-Kob: Der quantitative und qualitative Nachwuchsbedarf der industriellen Gesellschaft. MUND - Sonderheft I/1960.

Lepsius, Rainer: Strukturen und Wandlungen im Industriebetrieb. München 1960.

Mayntz, Renate: *Die soziale Organisation des Industriebetriebes*. Stuttgart 1958.

Müller, Philipp: *Berufswahl in der rationalisierten Arbeitswelt*. Rde 139 Hamburg 1961.

Neuloh, Otto: *Der neue Betriebsstil*. Tübingen 1960.

Neundörfer, Ludwig: *Die Angestellten*. Stuttgart 1961.

Popitz, Bahrdt et al.: *Technik und Industriearbeit*. Tübingen 1957.

Walter-Raymond-Stiftung, Hrsg: *Der Mensch im Betrieb*. Köln 1962.

Roehrs, Hermann (ed.): *Die Bildungsfrage in der modernen Arbeitswelt*. Frankfurt/Main 1963.

Schäfer, Wilhelm: *Industriebetrieb und Offentlichkeit vor den sozialen Aufgaben der Gegenwart*. Stuttgart 1956.

Schlesky, Helmut: *Die sozialen Folgen der Automatisierung*. Düsseldorf 1957.

Strzelewicz, Willi: *Industrialisierung und Demokratisierung*. Hrsg. Landeszentrale für Pol. Bildung Niedersachsen.

Teschner, Manfred: *Zum Verhältnis von Betriebsklima und Arbeitsorganisation*. Frankfurt 1961.

Voigt- Weddigen: *Zur Theorie und Praxis der Mitbestimmung*. Berlin 1962.

Wittig, Gabriele: "Bildungsinteressen der Berliner Arbeiter". Manuskript.

Wurzbacher, Gerhard: *Die junge Arbeiterin*. München 1958.

UNESCO: "Der soziale Einfluss der Arbeitswelt auf die Jugend". Manuskript.

Psychological Aspects

Arlt-Wilms: *Junge Arbeiter antworten*. Braunschweig 1962.

Bernstein, Basil: "Sozio-kulturelle Determinanten des Lernens". In: *Soziologie der Schule*, Sonderheft 4 der Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie. Köln 1959.

Brown, J.C.: Psychologie der industriellen Leistung. rde 130.

Dahrendorf, Ralf: *Homo sociologicus*. 3rd ed. Köln 1961.

Erikson, Erik H.: *Kindheit und Gesellschaft*. Zürich 1957.

Geiger, Theodor: *Gesellschaft ohne Dogma*. München 1950.

Heintz, Peter: *Soziale Vorurteile*. Köln 1957.

Hochheimer, Wolfgang: "Zur Tiefenpsychologie des pädagogischen Feldes". In: "*Deutsche Schule*" No. 3 (1959) p. 101 f.

Hofstätter, Peter H.: *Gruppendynamik*, Hamburg 1957.

Hofstatter, Peter H.: *Einführung in die Sozialpsychologie*. 2nd ed. Stuttgart 1959.

Homans, George Caspar: *Theorie der sozialen Gruppe*. Köln and Opladen 1960.

Jaide, Walter: *Das Verhältnis der Jugend zur Politik*. Neuwied 1963.

Lauterbach, Albert: *Psychologie des Wirtschaftslebens*. Rde Hamburg 1962

Malinowsky: *Die Dynamik des Kulturwandels*. Stuttgart 1951.

Mitscherlich, Alexander: *Auf dem Weg zur vaterlosen Gesellschaft*. München 1963.

Popitz, Bahrd et al.: *Das Gesellschaftsbild des Arbeiters*. Tübingen 1957.

Roth, Heinrich: *Jugend und Schule zwischen Reform und Restauration*. Hannover 1961.

Roth, Heinrich: *Pädagogische Psychologie des Lehrens und Lernens*. 2nd ed. Berlin 1957.

Segerstedt, Torgny T.: *Die Macht des Wortes*. Zürich 1947.

Sopp. Hellmuth: *Was der Mensch braucht*. Düsseldorf 1958.

Stendenbach, Franz, Joseph: *Soziale Interaktion und Lernprozesse*. Köln 1963.

Tausch - Tausch: *Erziehungspsychologie*. Göttingen 1963.

Tietgens, Hans: "Bildungsvorstellungen und Gesellschaftsbild". In: *VHS im Westen*, No. 2 (1964) p. 59 f.

Wewetzer, Karl Heinz: "Der Prozess der Begabung". In: *Die Deutsche Schule*, No. 2 (1961) p. 64 f.

Wurzbacher, Gerhard (ed.): *Der Mensch als soziales und personales Wesen*. Stuttgart 1963.

Aspects of Adult Education

Arnold, Franz u.a.: *Bildungsfragen unserer Zeit*. 2nd ed. Stuttgart 1956.

Balser, Frolinde: *Die Anfänge der Erwachsenenbildung in Deutschland in der ersten Halfte des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Stuttgart 1959.

Bäuerle, Theodor: *Arbeiterbildung*. Berlin 1928.

Blum, Emil: *Arbeiterbildung als existenzielle Bildung*. Bern 1935.

Buchwald, Reinhard: *Das Bildungsinteresse des deutschen Arbeiters*. Tübingen 1934.

Budde, Heinz: "Arbeiterbildung heute". In: *Erwachsenenbildung* No. 1 (1960) p. 16 f.

Bungardt, Karl: *Die Odyssee der Lehrerschaft*. Frankfurt 1959.

Cube, Felix von: *Allgemeinbildung oder produktive Leistung*. Stuttgart 1960.

Dirks, Walter: "Arbeiterbildung und der heutige Arbeiter". In: *Frankfurter Hefte* No. 10 (1960) p. 677 ff.

Edding, Friedrich: *Ökonomie des Bildungswesens*. Freiburg i.Br. 1963.

Edelstein, Wolfgang und Schäfer, Walter: *Von der Werkstatt zum Abitur*. Frankfurt/Main 1963.

Eyck, Erich: *Der Vereinstag deutscher Arbeitervereine 1863-1868*. Berlin 1904.

Grüner, Gustav: *Technische Volksbildung*. Weinheim 1960.

Hammelrath, Willi: *Volksbildung - Arbeiterbildung*. Nürnberg 1954.

Heimann, Paul: "Zur theoretischen Grundlegung der Bildungsarbeit an Oberschulen praktischen Zweiges". In: *Die Deutsche Schule*, No. 11 (1968) p. 583 f.

Herms, Gertrud: Die geistige Gestalt des marxistischen Arbeiters.

Jahn, Renate: *Was heisst Arbeiterbildung?* Freiburg 1960.

Kippert, Klaus: "Arbeiterbildung gestern und heute". In: *Hessische Blätter für Volksbildung*. No. 1 (1960) p. 12 f.

Linke, Werner: *Technik und Bildung*. Heidelberg 1961.

Litt, Theodor: *Technik und Bildung*.

Matzat, Heinz L.: "Der Beitrag der Arbeiterbildung zur Theorie der Erwachsenenbildung in Deutschland". In: *Hessische Blätter für Volksbildung*. No. 1 (1960) p. 19 f.

Mokre, Johannes: *Grundriss der Arbeiterkunde*. Wien 1950.

Platte, Hans: "Soziologie des Taschenbuches". In: *Bertelsmann Briefe*, No. 15 (1962).

Plickat, H.H.: *Die Schule als Instrument des sozialen Aufstiegs*. Weinheim 1959.

Pöggeler, Franz: *Der Mensch in Mündigkeit und Reife*. Paderborn 1964.

Ritz, Hans-Otto: "Das Bildungsinteresse der sozialen Schichten". Dissertation. Köln 1957.

Schulenberg, Wolfgang: *Ansatz und Wirksamkeit der Erwachsenenbildung*. Stuttgart 1957.

Spranger, Eduard: *Kulturfragen der Gegenwart*. 2. Auflage. Heidelberg 1956.

Spranger, Eduard: *Pädagogische Perspektiven. Beiträge zur Erziehungsfragen der Gegenwart*. Heidelberg 1955.

Steinmetz, Paul: "Einige Gedanken zum Sinn und zu den Grundpositionen von 'Arbeit und Leben'". In: *Gewerkschaftliche Monatshefte* No. 10 (1961) p. 593 f.

Steinmetz, Paul: Die Zukunft der Arbeiterbildung.

Steinmetz, Paul: Die geistige Begegnung des jungen Arbeiters mit dem Staat "Arbeit und Leben", *Niedersacksen*. No. 76/77.

Strzelewicz, Raapke, Schulenberg: *Bildung und gesellschaftliches Bewusstsein*. Stuttgart 1966.

Teschner, Manfred: "Theodor Adorno zum 60. Geburtstag". "Politische Bildung an höheren Schulen". In: *Zeugnisse*. Frankfurt/Main 1963.

Tietgens, Hans: Voraussetzungen und Möglichkeiten der Arbeiterbildung heute. In: *Neue Gesellschaft*.

Weinstock, Heinrich: *Arbeit und Bildung*. Heidelberg 1956.

Wilhelm, Theodor: "Die Gemeinschaftsmodelle der Deutschen Erziehung". In: *Zeitschrift für Pädagogik*.

IV

A CASE STUDY BASED ON AN URBAN OVERSPILL HOUSING ESTATE

by

Paul Fordham,
Liam Healy, and
Lawrence Randle

I. BACKGROUND

This report discusses the rationale for and the preliminary findings of the New Communities Project, an action research inquiry undertaken by the Department of Extra-Mural Studies, University of Southampton, with the assistance of a grant from the Department of Education and Science and accommodation and other overheads provided by the Hampshire Education Authority.

The project arose from the interaction of fact and tradition: students in adult education classes(1) are increasingly drawn from the higher socio-economic groups and from those with a background of full-time secondary or higher education, and the tradition of university adult education in Britain that it should not only be concerned with the education of working class students but that it has some accumulated expertise in meeting their needs.

University Extension celebrated its centenary in 1973.(2) From the first it was concerned to extend the benefits of university teaching not merely geographically but also socially, and early contacts made by reformers from the University of Cambridge were with women's groups and Mechanics' Institutes. However, like "other contemporary middle class movements for social reform ... Extension was less a partnership with the excluded than an attempt at social leadership ... it was a 'movement', but a rather confused one exhibiting a tension between democratising enthusiasm and moral and intellectual elitism".(3)

This tension is still apparent today.

---

1) The authors would deny the appropriateness of the sharp administrative distinction made in the United Kingdom between vocational and non-vocational education; but the New Communities Project is largely concerned with the latter as it was understood and considered by the Russell Committee. (See Adult Education: A Plan for Development, HMSO, 1973.) In England and Wales there are three main providers of non-vocational adult education: the local education authorities, with 1,700,000 enrolled students in 1968/69, the university extra-mural departments, with 163,000 students and the Workers' Educational Association, with 150,000 students. (Russell Committee. Ibid. pp. 5-6.)

2) See N.A. Jepson, The Beginnings of English University Adult Education, 1973.

3) C. Duke and S. Marriott, Paper Awards in Liberal Adult Education Michael Joseph, 1973, p. 33.

The creation thirty years later (1903) of the Workers' Educational Association, trying as it did to build an institutional partnership between "labour and learning", was an attempt to move beyond the weaknesses of Extension; it included as a primary objective the greater recruitment of working class students into the adult education classes provided by the universities. Now although the WEA has been widely admired for its democratic organisation and for the unique contribution to our understanding of adult learning made by the early tutorial classes,(1) it had only limited success in extending the social base of student recruitment. In theory, classes "were working class in character; in fact they were mixed groups composed of skilled manual workers, clerks, teachers and some other lower middle class elements".(2)

We do not need to label the WEA as élitist to understand why it has failed to become primarily a working class organisation.(3) From the first it attracted and educated the intellectual leaders of working class groups rather than the rank and file. It enabled a whole generation of such leaders, who had been denied access to higher education, to catch up with other social classes and themselves to enter positions of power and responsibility. A later generation, in the presence of wider opportunities in the formal system, had less need of this route to the top. This is not to say that the formal system offers equal educational opportunities for all social classes, far from it, but even for early leavers there is now a greater variety of second chance opportunities.

The fact of non-participation of working class groups in adult education is well documented and needs no elaboration here. Britain is still a country where three quarters of the adult population left school at the minimum leaving age and yet less than half of all students in existing classes are drawn from this large majority. If socio-economic status is taken as the indicator rather than the age when full-time schooling ceased, then the facts are even more

---

1) See T. Kelly, Adult Education in Great Britain, Liverpool University Press, 1970, Chapters 15 and 16.

2) R. Peers, Adult Education, 1957, p. 79.

3) There is still a lingering socio-economic difference between WEA students and the rest.

" ... the WEA, acting independently of the universities, drew a higher proportion of its students from the lower half of the social gradings ... This may be associated with the higher average age of WEA class numbers ... "

"Adequacy of Provision" in Adult Education 42, 6. Page 57, 1960.

striking.(1) Some 64 per cent of a sample population surveyed in one important study in the 1960s were classified as from "lower occupations" but produced less than 30 per cent of the students.(2)

In spite of these discouraging figures, the "democratising enthusiasm" of the WEA and of university adult education has remained active. There have been a number of experiments in recent years which have reported varying degrees of success, notably the work of Jackson and Lovett in Liverpool and the Silverdale project of the Keele Adult Education Department; also relevant is the growth of social/educational programmes in deprived inner city areas like the Community Development Project(3) and the work of the Educational Priority Area teams.(4) These activities have been widely discussed in adult education circles and led directly to a request in the Southampton area for an action research project to look at the penetration of adult education into areas of urban overspill.(5)

The interaction of fact and tradition referred to in the opening paragraph was clear from the project's initial assumption

> "that adult education should seek to serve the whole community and not merely those sectors of it who currently take advantage of what is provided ... Although adult classes are likely to remain a minority taste, there seems no reason why this should remain an unrepresentative minority".(6)

The project could not attempt to embrace all the non-participators and it seemed that the most obvious areas of social deprivation were having at least some attention. It was therefore decided to look at a hitherto neglected and rapidly growing group and the project would aim

> "to increase the effective penetration of ... adult education services in areas of urban overspill".(7)

---

1) Trenaman in the 1950s concluded that "socio-occupational rating is likely to be a better predictor of attitudes to education in adult life than is the age of completing full-time education". (Ibid. p. 76.)

2) Ibid. pp. 57 and 70.

3) Information on C.D.P. is mostly unpublished. Enquirers could write to Community Programmes Department, Home Office, Eccleston Square, London.

4) E. Midwinter, Priority Education, 1972.

5) The proposal came from a conference on New Priorities in Adult Education organised in November 1971 by the Southampton University Joint Committee for Adult Education.

6) From the paper outlining the original research design and application for grant submitted to the Department of Education and Science.

7) Ibid.

In the event the New Communities Project was established in January 1973 on the Leigh Park Estate near Portsmouth and will also encourage comparative studies in Basingstoke, Hampshire, a town now growing very rapidly, partly as a planned overspill development for London.

The initial assumption and aim of the project were later (April 1973) to be given authoritative reinforcement by the report of the Russell Committee. The Committee gave particular attention to the disadvantaged(1) and asserted that the

> "task of the education service will be to collaborate with Social Services and other relevant departments in ensuring that disadvantaged individuals are not debarred by lack of education from active participation in the life of their local communities".(2)

The kind of "disadvantage" in which we were interested was neatly referred to in the description of

> "people ... hitherto untouched by adult education ... discouraged from participating by their ... circumstances, by unsuitable premises, by a sense of their own inadequacy, by the fear of an unwelcoming bureaucracy in the administrative arrangements, or simply by the language we commonly use in describing the service.(3) They merit special consideration. They are all members of the adult community, entitled to benefit from adult education according to their need ... "(4)

II. RESEARCH STRATEGY AND THE QUESTION OF IDEOLOGY

It was recognised from the outset that the aim of the project was unlikely to be realised by traditional approaches. Problems of alienation from anything labelled "education" run too deep in some communities for any mere tinkering with existing provision to be successful. There had to be a range of new approaches (a) to community involvement and the range of contacts and publicity needed to achieve this (b) to the translation of perceived wants into educational needs and (c) to the kinds of programme and curricula which might be provided once a range of those needs had been identified.

---

1) Including disadvantage caused by personal capacity, social deprivation and educational deprivation. Adult Education: A Plan for Development, "The Russell Report", op. cit. para. 279.

2) "The Russell Report", op. cit., para. 278.

3) And, it might have been added, the language and "educated" accent of many teachers.

4) The Russell Report, para. 187.

It seemed likely that the experimental strategies would not necessarily be confined in the first instance to activities which could clearly and unequivocally be labelled "education". For example, discussions might reveal issues on which local people had strong feelings (e.g. a new road, lack of recreational facilities, poor public transport). The project might help with advice on how a residents' group might be organised (a "community development" activity) which in turn could lead to the need for better information and perhaps to a more systematic course of study; at this point a local social/educational need could be met in part by appropriate educational provision. In other words, although various kinds of stimuli to community action and involvement might be attempted, they would be specifically designed to further the general aim. They might be related to various kinds of "community development" work, but would work towards an increase in educational provision rather than general social work.

Now the kind of action research in which we are engaged does not involve the testing of pre-determined hypotheses under laboratory conditions or even the measuring of results against control groups elsewhere.(1) We knew that we should have to test (and to modify) our ideas through intimate involvement in the community's social and educational problems. We should have to make a continuous flow of decisions based on our own value judgments and these values might themselves be modified as a result of the research experience. It was therefore vitally important to make sure that our values and judgments were conscious and explicit rather than unconscious and unacknowledged.

It has recently been pointed out that needs are not "objective and observable entities existing out there in the real world", but are partly created by the adult educator himself through a process of prescription or ascription.(2) The programme planner prescribes classes or activities when students' wants are made known to him - and he usually judges his own success or failure by the number who turn up on the night and who subsequently stay on for the course. More pertinent for our purposes are the ascriptive norms which lead us to describe "disadvantage" and hence needs for individuals or groups who fall below them. For example, early school leaving, alienation from the formal educational process (or more clearly from schooling) or a reluctance to profit from the adult educational goods on offer are all seen as problems to be overcome. But each

---

1) A.H. Halsey in Educational Priority, 1972 (HMSO), Chapter 13, gives a useful account of "E.P.A. Action Research" and its accompanying problems.

2) H.C. Wiltshire, "The Concepts of Learning and Need in Adult Education" in Studies in Adult Education, 5, 1st April, 1973.

one implies judgments about what is worthwhile, about the value of education as opposed to, say, more material goods and about the whole cultural tradition behind our own particular view of what education is all about. We have to make such judgments if our professional commitment has any consistent meaning, but we have to do so in the full knowledge of what it is that we do and our reasons for doing it. It was with these thoughts in mind that we looked at the work of other projects and have subsequently tried to clarify our own starting position.

The most carefully thought out theoretical position in recent working class adult education has been developed by Ashcroft and Jackson.(1) They agree with most other practitioners in rejecting a view which sees existing provision as self-evidently desirable, but they also dismiss a number of other perspectives which are currently more fashionable; these include (a) Midwinter's concentration on a curriculum which is designed for relevance to the working class neighbourhood and sub-culture(2) (too narrowing) and (b) the community development approach pioneered in the United States with its "tidying up the ragged edges of the 'good society'". They argue in particular that concentration on cultural deprivation as a variable neglects the political aspects of the problem, especially the almost universal allocation of fewer resources to poor areas. They assert that the concept of deprivation must be extended to cover the whole working class; any community education should refuse to accept a

> "monstrously inequitable structure of power and economic rewards ... If a philosophy of education is to have any meaning for the working class it must be developed in the context of a challenge to bourgeois hegemony".

As will emerge later in this report, there is much in the Ashcroft/Jackson analysis with which we can agree. It will also be clear that we accept the necessity to be explicit about our own convictions and commitment. But to assert the necessity of a particular political stance seems to us self-defeating, unnecessary and perhaps distorting. Whatever our private views we all have to work within the existing social structure even if we also seek to change it. If groups of working class students seek radical or revolutionary alternatives they do not have to remain

---

1) Adult Education, Deprivation and Community Development - A Critique. Paper presented at the conference on "Social Deprivation and Change in Education", University of York, April 1972.
"Adult Education and Social Action" in Yearbook of the Association of Community Workers.

2) E. Midwinter, op. cit.

quietist or be led to accept that the good society is already here. Moreover, distortion may arise from the insistence on class solidarity as the basis for all development work. It can mean that students and tutor alike must first pass a political test of their ideology and social class membership. But if the whole of our cultural heritage should at least be available to the working class, then education for individual self-discovery and self-development may be an equally important base.(1)

Another experimental strategy which calls for comment is the work of the University of Keele in the coal-mining village of Silverdale. Whereas Ashcroft and Jackson ask us to accept that a particular ideology is the right one for action research in this field, the Keele strategy seems to accept without question the relevance of a particular kind of programme and curriculum.(2) It assumes that a drive for traditional liberal studies courses of some academic rigour will provide the answer to the non-participation of working class students. Now although the Keele programme may be successful in its own terms, it will only look at part of the problem. In the whole range of adult education provision the university contribution is unlikely ever to be more than a small part. Problems of non-participation have to be seen in the context of the "varied and comprehensive service" proposed by the Russell Committee and not just in the traditional terms of one of the providers. And in this process, we all have to be prepared to modify our ideas about programmes and curricula just as much as about other aspects of our existing work. At this stage it therefore seems premature to see study in depth of a discipline and "quick-witted social workers acting as discussion group leaders"(3) as somehow mutually exclusive.

The New Communities Project seeks to help people to help themselves. It is attempting a new approach which is neither élitist nor Marxist. It is concerned neither with educating working class leaders out of their background nor with increasing a "working class consciousness" per se. Rather it begins with the self-discovery of individuals as and where they are, with what Freire calls "problem-posing education".

---

1) Ashcroft and Jackson concede the inevitability of some upward social mobility but express a rather vague hope that this will not result in a divorce from class consciousness; the hope is based on the overt ideological commitment of the adult education to be on offer.

2) Keele and Silverdale, Report to the people of Silverdale by Professor Roy Shaw, University of Keele, 1971.

3) 1971-72 Annual Report, University of Keele, Department of Adult Education.

> "The point of departure lies in men themselves ... in the 'here and now' ... Only by starting from this situation ... can they begin to move. To do this authentically they must perceive their state not as fated and unalterable, but merely as limiting and therefore challenging."(1)

III. THE PROJECT AND ITS SETTING

Until the 1940s, Leigh Park was the estate and gardens of a wealthy land-owning family. It lies some eleven miles from the centre of Portsmouth and well outside the city boundaries. However, Portsmouth Corporation was able to buy the land cheaply on the open market and thus to continue its programme of slum clearance. Older areas of the city near the docks were demolished and the former inhabitants rehoused in dwellings built by the City Corporation at Leigh Park. Building began in 1948.

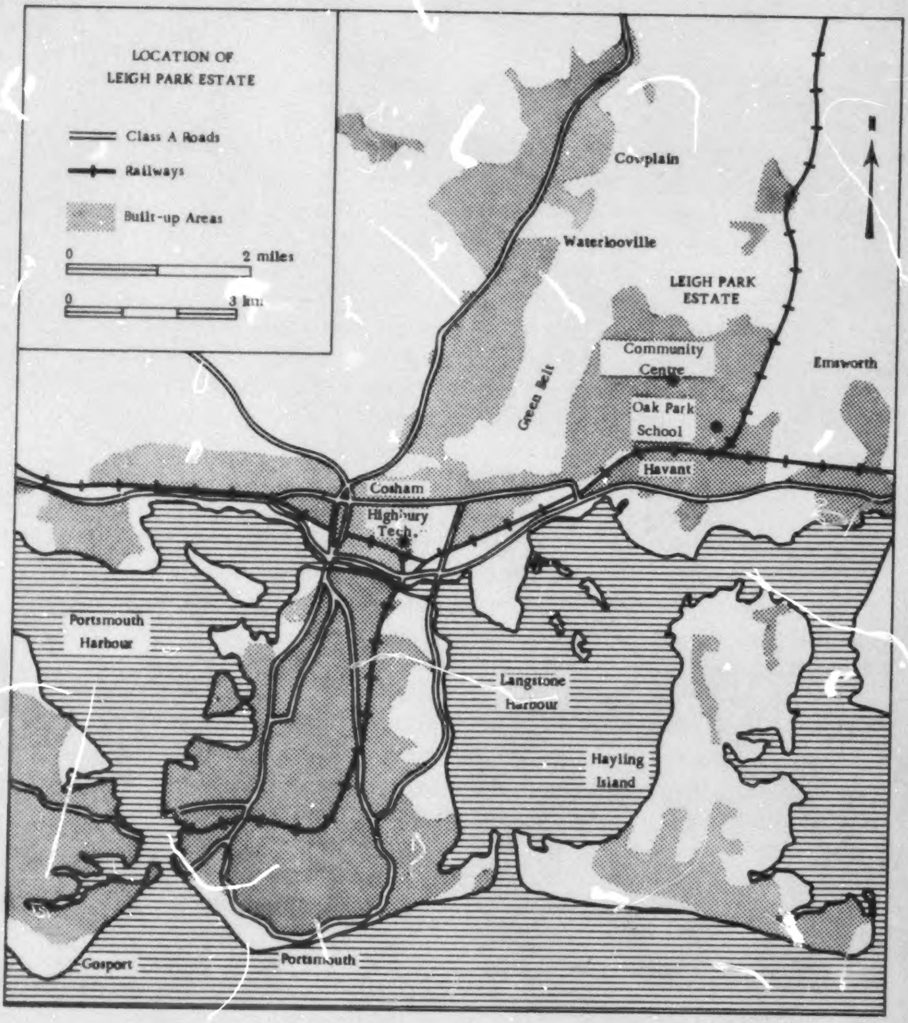
The 1971 Census of Population recorded that the estate had a population of 38,700.(2) The development covers an area of about four square miles and, although it has grown in a rather ad hoc way over the last twenty five years, is said by Portsmouth to be complete. However, the Corporation still owns land around the estate and there could well be further house building in the future. The whole of south Hampshire is scheduled for considerable urban development over the next twenty years. It is one of the fastest growing areas in the country. Private and public speculative development and acquisition of land has made both housing and land very expensive; all services, including education, have lagged behind population growth.

The administrative and local government arrangements for the area are complex. Portsmouth Corporation owns 9,000 out of the 11,000 houses and is also responsible, as landlord, for estate management; Leigh Park estate constitutes one third of Portsmouth's housing stock. However, as we have seen, it lies well outside the city boundaries and is administratively part of the Urban District of Havant and Waterloo (population 109,000) - and beyond that of the County of Hampshire (population 1 million). The residents are thus in the rather confused position whereby they pay rent to Portsmouth Corporation, receive educational and technical services from Havant and Waterloo Urban District, whilst social services are provided directly by Hampshire County Council.

---

1) Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, Penguin edition, 1972, p. 57.

2) All figures in this section relating to population and adult education are taken for the year of 1971, the year of the last official government census.


LOCATION OF
LEIGH PARK ESTATE
Class A Roads
Railways
Built-up Areas
0
2 miles
0
3 km
Cowplain
Waterlooville
LEIGH PARK
ESTATE
Community
Centre
Emsworth
Green Belt
Oak Park
School
Havant
Cosham
Highbury
Tech.
Portsmouth
Harbour
Langstone
Harbour
Hayling
Island
Gosport
Portsmouth

Leigh Park is physically separated from the rest of Havant and Waterloo. The major dividing lines are the railway to east and south and "green belt" land to the north and west. The Urban District comprises the small town of Havant to the south, and the growing ribbon development of private commuter housing that is Waterlooville and Cowplain to the west as well as Hayling Island, a seaside holiday area south of Havant, and Emsworth, a traditional sailing village to the east. (See map.) The bulk of housing in the rest of the Urban District is privately built and owner-occupied. Thus the estate is not merely geographically distinct from the rest of the Urban District; it is also socially distinct.

Although Leigh Park can be seen as a discrete geographical and social entity it has no clear political or administrative status. It is served by three different and separate local government authorities:(1) one, Hampshire, is a remote, mainly rural authority; Portsmouth, the landlord, is an authority to which residents have no political access; and the host, Havant and Waterloo Urban District, is an authority comprising mainly representatives of distinct middle-class areas, all of which have grown rapidly since 1948 from a series of small interconnected villages.

The demographic structure of Leigh Park is related to Portsmouth's rehousing policy. The population is a very young one with over half the population under 25 years old; 40 per cent is under fifteen years. Forty per cent of families have more than three children compared with less than 5 per cent for the rest of the Urban District. In 1974, some 60 per cent of all children aged 3-5 in the Urban District will be living on Leigh Park.

Most of the people now work in industry on or near the estate, although there is still a dependence on industry in Portsmouth which has long been dominated by the naval dockyards. These, though declining, still provide more than a hundred times the number of training opportunities for skilled workers than does local industry. Industry on the estate itself tends to be light industry which responds quickly to changes in the economy either by sharp cuts, or by rapid increases in recruitment and production. The majority of firms have labour requirements which are either female or capital and ability intensive: that is, they either tend to employ women for unskilled assembly work or to employ a large proportion of graduates from outside the estate to work with costly capital equipment. There is, moreover, a bewildering variety of shift work for both men and women.

---

1) Under local government reorganisation from March 1974, all three will be part of the one large regional authority which will retain the title Hampshire. But Havant and Waterloo and Portsmouth will be district authorities within the larger regional one. It remains to be seen whether this will decrease their separateness or whether the situation will remain much as it was before reorganisation.

Housing has always outstripped the provision of other facilities. There were 13,000 people living on Leigh Park before there was a single shop. Today the estate has a central shopping area which is quite good for food and groceries. But there are no good department stores and little choice for commodities other than food. Apart from this there are several clusters of two or three shops in outlying areas of the estate.

Besides shops, the other social amenities now include a Working Men's Club, a Community Centre and a bowling alley. There is no cinema, dance hall or sports hall and the Working Men's Club has been oversubscribed for long periods. Moreover, there is both on the estate and in the Urban District a general lack of commercial provision for entertainment. As with work and some vocational training there is a dependence on Portsmouth for such facilities. And yet the public transport system is a very poor one. It does not cope adequately with taking people to work and it copes even less well with providing transport around the estate, getting children to school or delivering people to places for social entertainment or adult education.

Adult education on the estate is mainly the responsibility of the local education authority, which is by far the largest provider. (The Urban District Council is responsible under authority delegated by Hampshire County Council to provide adult education within regulations and an annual budget determined by the County.) The Workers' Educational Association and the University Extra-Mural Department have had little past success on Leigh Park.

It is the policy of the local authority to base adult education on secondary schools. There are four of these on the estate, and all four are situated on its periphery; none is central or easy to reach by public transport. One of them, Oak Park School, at the south-east corner of the estate is the largest adult education centre in the Urban District and the one closest to Leigh Park.

Now while the Oak Park adult centre is based on a school, they are not run as one single community school catering for both children and adults. Neither the headmaster of the school nor any representative local people play any significant part in the direction of the centre. Apart from dual use of buildings and some equipment, together with a small overlap of staff, the school and adult centre operate independently of each other.

One effect of locating an adult centre at a school is to reduce the opportunity for providing day-time education for adults; it was assumed at an early stage that adult education was mainly an evening activity. Of the courses offered in September 1973, 80 per cent were held in the evening, 13 per cent in the morning and 7 per cent in the afternoon. As a rule classes begin at 19.00 hrs. and end at 21.00 hrs.

A small number of classes are held at the Community Centre in the middle of the estate while the use of buildings in other schools is marginal; it depends on the degree of concern which individual head teachers may have for adult education. In practice this means that most adult education classes are held at the school (Oak Park) which has the least adequate buildings and related facilities for discharging its role as an institution of secondary education. An inevitable consequence of this is that the accommodation for much local adult education is poor. The Oak Park centre is run by a full-time principal aided by a part-time colleague who works there only in the evenings. These two are supported by a full-time secretary. In 1971/72 the centre had 2,668 adult(1) enrolments in the classes it offered; 648 of these were from people on Leigh Park. This is 24 per cent of total enrolments yet the population of Leigh Park forms some 36 per cent of the total population of the Urban District.

The percentage of the population of Leigh Park involved in adult education at the Oak Park centre in 1971/72 was approximately 1.7 per cent compared with 6.9 per cent for the Urban District of Havant and Waterloo. Thus, whereas the figure for the whole urban district compares favourably with the national participation rate of 4 per cent(2) that for Leigh Park itself is very low.

What educational opportunities are available at the Oak Park centre? Most of the courses are recreational in that they do not lead by examination to a qualification and relate mainly to leisure activities or interests. Included in this category are practical subjects like wood-carving, navigation for sailing, introductory language courses, physical education, art, drama and music. There is also a whole range of courses for women which includes cookery, embroidery and dressmaking. Apart from these the centre runs a number of other courses which lead to public examinations at various levels and which relate directly or indirectly to vocational needs. They consist of courses which give second chance opportunities to sit for examinations more commonly taken by full-time pupils in schools or students in technical colleges. They include the General Certificate of Education (Ordinary and Advanced levels) and commercial courses such as typewriting and shorthand. These examinable courses constituted nearly 30 per cent of the provision offered to the public at the Oak Park centre in 1971/72. Such second chance basic education is likely to lead on to clerical work or to further technical or professional opportunities.

---

1) People aged sixteen and over are considered as adults for the purpose of this report.

2) "Adequacy of Provision" in Adult Education 42, 1970, p. 14.

Whereas participation in adult education from Leigh Park is much lower than average, there is much stronger support for these examinable courses in basic general education than there is from the Urban District as a whole. In 1971/72, 56 per cent of women and 58 per cent of men who were enrolled at the Oak Park centre were engaged in such courses. The most popular were English and mathematics for men, with typing, shorthand and English and mathematics for women. This fully confirms on a local scale the attitudes to education of young school leavers and their parents recorded in a national survey made in 1966.(1) This drew attention to the largely instrumental view of education taken by most parents and pupils ("it should help you in your career") as against the more general objectives of teachers and schools ("it should train character" etc.).

The basic general education courses most supported by Leigh Park residents are more usually provided by institutions whose main concern is with vocational education - technical colleges, colleges of technology and, for degree level work, the polytechnics. But, as with other facilities, most of the opportunities for vocational education lie outside the area. The nearest major institution is the Highbury Technical College in north Portsmouth (Cosham). Here, such basic courses form the lower tier of a whole range of technical/professional programmes leading to qualifications in engineering, business studies, management studies, construction skills and catering. The extent of local participation in courses at Highbury is under investigation but many of the students would be pursuing courses with the support of their employers who release them either full- or part-time to pursue such studies. The number of local firms from the estate who support such schemes is very small compared with the more traditional industries in Portsmouth.

The situation is made both more complex and more fluid by the proposal to open in 1974 a new technical college much closer to Leigh Park. And this must raise large questions about the future policy for adult education in the area.

Industrial retraining is not yet so important in this area as it is in northern England or the Midlands. The only major industry in decline is the naval dockyard, but workers displaced from there have found a ready market for their existing skills in the newer light industries which have spread rapidly in recent years. These newer industries have also attracted labour (especially professional and managerial) from other parts of the country.

---

1) Young School Leavers; Schools Council Enquiry 1, HMSO, 1968.

The tendency of local industry not to become involved with training will no doubt create problems for the future. For the moment, however, retraining opportunities are largely limited to what can be achieved by an individual in his spare time or to little-known government retraining schemes which have been aimed mainly at areas with high unemployment.

Into this setting the two research fellows were appointed in January 1973; a full-time secretary was appointed in March. The local authority provided an office cum seminar room on the campus of Oak Park School. The first few months of the project were spent in establishing a sound administrative base and getting to know the people involved professionally and voluntarily with adult education in the locality.

IV. THE FIRST ACTION PROGRAMME

It was recognised from the outset that acceptance by the people amongst whom one proposes to work is the most important prerequisite for any programme of action research. Without this, little of value can be achieved. Moreover, acceptance is not a once and for all phenomenon but rather a plant in constant need of care and attention. Local people are often, and with reason, suspicious of professional researchers. Indeed in Leigh Park local residents' groups have, in the past, effectively blocked other and much more traditional research proposals. This was the main reason for the initial adoption of a low profile strategy. This meant that we should proceed by way of meeting, talking with, and listening to local people rather than by way of surveys, press releases and public statements of intent. Our role would be one of learning and listening and making an assessment of what might be possible or relevant. Through such a process the research team were able to meet and allay local fears that their intention was to conduct a large survey, write a report which might reflect badly on the area, obtain their Ph.D's and go away again. The team were able to explain that this was not their intention; that they hoped to make a contribution to the area; that what they did would have to be relevant to the needs of local people and so would have to involve them closely at all stages, and that when they did leave, a measure of their success would be how far their initiatives, if successful, would continue to be supported and developed without their presence. The notion of action research, we found, was much more acceptable to the people of Leigh Park than that of traditional academic approaches.

The strategy of developing contacts with local groups (e.g. the Working Men's Club, Churches, the Community Centre, the Pre-School Playgroups Association), educationists, social workers, local councillors and other individuals did more than allay local suspicions. It enabled the team to know the locality well enough to base future action on the needs of the area as seen by the local residents themselves. And it allowed the team to make contact with organisations like industrial firms and social service agencies that are not currently involved in adult education but which may be concerned with needs towards the satisfaction of which adult education can make some contribution. One way of making adult education more sensitive to local needs is to ensure that people working in it have relationships with these other agencies and that both are capable of working together where this is appropriate. The early low profile strategy contributed to the development of such relationships. Furthermore, the network of local contacts, once established, quickly presented opportunities for deeper involvement by the project team in a number of activities like the development of pre-school playgroups, parental education and adult literacy.

Contact with the playgroup movement on the estate(1) has led to the team becoming involved in a variety of initiatives, from supporting a holiday activities scheme, organised by local parents and playgroup leaders, to helping a group of parents to plan and build an adventure playground. The holiday activities scheme ran for three weeks and catered for approximately 200 children; a more ambitious scheme was planned for the summer of 1974. The team view their continued involvement in both the adventure playground and the holiday activity schemes as one of supplying information, putting interested adults with relevant skills in touch with the organisers and playing a generally encouraging and supporting role. Such involvement can easily develop other fruitful contacts. Two examples of such contacts and related follow-up work were parents who wanted to learn about child development and others who wanted to discuss government policy on nursery education.(2)

---

1) The Pre-School Playgroups Association (Alford House, Aveline Street, London, SE11 5DJ) was established in 1960; it now has more than 286 branches catering for 8,500 children. Although its main original concern was to fill gaps in existing nursery provision, it is now beginning to argue that playgroups have a permanent role because of the great value of parental involvement in child development.

2) Education: A Framework for Expansion, HMSO, December 1972, Cmnd 5174.

In the first case the team has worked with a number of parents who, though interested in the general question of child development were reluctant to attend a formal course in the subject. An informal weekly discussion series, "Enjoy Your Under Fives", held in familiar playgroup surroundings provided a simple and effective solution and was provided by the WEA.

In the second case the team became aware of considerable confusion regarding the likely effect of recent government proposals on nursery education. The project was fortunate in that one of the most experienced workers in the field of parental education moved into the Southampton area in July 1973 and agreed to work with the team for one day a week.(1) She has acted as consultant for an action group of local people currently examining government policy on nursery education and its implications for Leigh Park; she is also concerned with assessing the needs of parents with children aged 0-5, with special reference to the role of parents in the education of their children.

The network of local contacts highlighted other needs. Various agencies and individuals referred to the high incidence of adult illiteracy in the area. This is now increasingly recognised as a national issue and various approaches have been tried throughout the country. As in other industrialised countries, the major problem lies largely in contacting the illiterate person, convincing him that something can be done about his handicap and then being in a position to respond appropriately. Again the project was fortunate enough in attracting another worker with extensive experience and who is associated especially with the development of a literacy project in Manchester;(2) this was based largely on local volunteer tutors teaching on a one to one basis. As a result of his interest and that of local people an adult Literacy Scheme for the area was launched in January 1974. Communities, no less than individuals, dislike being labelled as illiterate; local trust and local involvement at all stages in the organisation and development of the scheme are clearly essential. At another level, while there is a world-wide adult literacy problem and various approaches and reading

---

1) Lin Poulton, who worked with an Educational Priority Area Project in the West Riding of Yorkshire, part of which was the *Red House Pre-School and Visiting Programme*. See the pamphlet by James, Poulton, Poulton, Worden and Potts, *Early Education Programmes*, Progress Report, 1972.

2) See R. Roberts, *Imprisoned Tongues*, Manchester University Press, 1968;
Teaching Adult Illiterates, Salford Council of Social Services, 1972;
The Classic Slum, Penguin, 1973.

schemes have been tried in different areas, there is no clear evidence about which approach or method is the most effective. The proposed Leigh Park Literacy Scheme will make use of a number of different approaches and will attempt to evaluate them.

Reference has already been made to the confusion which arises from three overlapping public authorities and their divided responsibilities for different services. People are often unclear as to who is responsible for what. Is it Portsmouth Corporation, Havant and Waterloo Urban District Council or Hampshire County Council? More recently, in line with national trends, services have either been reduced in scope or withdrawn from the estate and relocated centrally as larger units serving a wider area. For example, the police station has been reduced from a twenty-four hour service to one offering only part-time facilities, while the office for registering births, deaths and marriages has been combined with the Havant office. There is, moreover, a dearth of professional services. For instance, one solicitor operates from Leigh Park one day per week. Other parts of the Urban District have up to eight practising firms of solicitors. The situation is made worse by the fact that a considerable number of people on Leigh Park tend to be dependent on local government services. The team quickly met many people who were in need of information and advice about housing, social services, education, careers and medical services. In some cases, due to the informal contact network, we were able to help. But there seemed to be a need for more information and for general advice centres because of the social and geographic situation on the estate, together with the tendency for official organisations to become large, formal and isolated from the people they serve. Once again, through meeting people who were interested and concerned, a local group was formed to look at ways of improving advice and information services. This group, in turn, is supported by information and resources from the project and from the university.

By September 1973, the results achieved in the first six months appeared to have justified the early low profile strategy. Local fears and suspicions of outsiders and of research projects had been largely allayed. A considerable number of local groups and individuals had come to know and accept the aims and objectives of the project, in different ways. Where appropriate, arrangements had been made for outside expertise to co-operate with local groups.(1)

---

1) i.e. those people sometimes referred to as community educators as opposed to professional adult educators, people "with status, authority and ability in a community ... "
J. Lotz, "Thoughts on Community Developers" in Adult Leadership September 1972, p. 81 (University of South Carolina).

By September, sufficient confidence existed between the team and the local community for us to adopt a more public strategy, aimed at meeting a much wider range of local people and at initiating a more extensive and direct process of discovering local needs. The general title for this public strategy was "Breakthrough". This new strategy would not have been possible without using the network of contacts so carefully built up during the initial months of the project. During the first phase of this new strategy the project was able to draw on [illegible] voluntary services of 25 local people, among them housewives, [illegible] councillors, teachers and social workers.

V. THE "BREAKTHROUGH" STRATEGY

The initial programme was simple in conception, but had a number of interlocking aims which we shall examine later. It consisted of an intensive week of publicity in each of the shopping centres on the estate. A van was borrowed from a colleague on the University Extra-Mural staff and this was then established at each of the shopping centres in turn. Both the research team and their volunteer helpers handed out leaflets, dispersed information and advice, noted down names, addresses and interests and encouraged people to participate in completing questionnaires on what they would like to see improved on Leigh Park (the "wish-in" - see below). Several hundred people were approached about existing opportunities, about other things that the project itself had by now come to accept as unmet local needs and about what facilities the local people themselves wanted to improve.

For some time previously, several hundred posters had been put up throughout the area drawing attention to "Breakthrough - Operation Otherwise" - without actually stating what this was to be. By early September, the traditional enrolment period for existing adult classes, considerable interest had already been aroused by the posters and the programme itself could be launched.

In five days the Breakthrough van visited six different shopping centres (visits coinciding with peak shopping periods) and attended two bingo sessions, one at the Working Men's Club and the other in the Community Centre. Old People's Luncheon Clubs, a picket line, factory gates and several public houses were also visited. Shoppers who shied away from the decorated van had their interest aroused by street theatre and a local pop group. Further publicity was given by the local radio and press. Public reaction was warm and enthusiastic. The pre-publicity appears to have played an important role in arousing people's curiosity. Breakthrough was frequently taken to refer to a pop group - very few people imagined it had anything to do with adult education. Yet once contact was made the team could give out the specially prepared leaflet, invite people to complete the questionnaire and generally engage in conversation about educational and other local issues. During the week over 4,000 copies of the Breakthrough leaflet were distributed.

The main aim of the new strategy was to involve a much larger number of people in working with the project than had previously been possible or seen by the team as desirable. But involvement for what purposes and to test what ideas? It is against these that we must look at the four main strands of Breakthrough, for each of them had different though interrelated objectives.

VI. PUBLICITY FOR EXISTING CLASSES

The first strand consisted of publicity for existing adult classes and attention was drawn to these in the Breakthrough leaflet. Detailed prospectuses on courses arranged by the different adult education agencies in the area were available at the stalls. About 1,000 copies of these were distributed and considerable time was spent by the team in helping people to find their way through them.

One obvious purpose of this strand was to increase enrolments. Some 126 people (105 females, 21 male) sought advice about specific courses. Of these 22 (17 female, 5 male) have so far enrolled in courses at the Oak Park centre. Enrolments at other centres on the estate and at other adult education centres in the surrounding district have not yet been checked. A comprehensive follow-up of the remaining 124 who showed some interest in a particular subject and for which we have no record of enrolments is now being made. While this discrepancy between intention and action may be due, in part, to low motivation, other factors such as cost, poor transport services, shift-work and lack of baby-sitting services were constantly mentioned as very real difficulties for some people. The hypothesis that a different kind of publicity will by itself increase participation significantly has not yet been demonstrated. More important from the project's point of view was the involvement of the existing providers. Unless officials and voluntary workers begin to make closer contacts themselves with the non-participators, the project is unlikely to have any lasting effects in the area. It was important not simply to increase recruitment but also to ensure that new perceptions were made available for existing agencies. We believe this objective was achieved. The mere fact of having to explain one's own cherished leaflet to so many people must surely make some impact on those produced next time. And the many informal discussions in the market places have certainly increased awareness amongst all three main providers of the expressed wants of several hundred local people.

VII. A SKILL AND INTEREST-MATCHING SERVICE

This second strand provided a rudimentary interest-matching service. A large board, entitled "What Would You Like To Do?" was provided, and people were invited to mark up their particular interest; the intention was simply to put people with similar interests and skills in touch with each other so that they might encourage each other, take responsibility for their own learning, and in the long term enable the team to determine the resources and approaches necessary to make this possible. Approximately one hundred people participated in this venture.

Now existing provision consists almost entirely of formal classes and current regulations (especially for the local authority) ensure that this will remain so. For example, the principal of the local centre does not spend a pre-determined but flexible budget; he is given authority to provide a certain number of "class hours". Again, in its letting policy for rooms, the local authority has normally only made these available for "approved organisations". It has been difficult for informal groups to find a meeting place and even quite vigorous leisure groups (a pipe band, amateur gymnasts) have not found it easy to rent available premises. We wished not only to demonstrate the feasibility of organising informal learning but also to point to some of the structural changes which might be necessary if this was to grow. As the Russell Committee noted, work of this kind

> "may be ill suited to the customary modes of adult education ... Insistence upon regular times of meeting, the routines of enrolment and registration of attendance, minimum numbers, the charging of fees in advance (or at all), and formal class teaching will often destroy any chance of successful educational penetration into these sectors of the population. Whatever the providing body, it must be imaginative and flexible in approach ..."(1)

One direct result of the interest-matching service was the creation, in co-operation with the Social Services Department, of a one-parent family group. This is now completely self-directing and serves both social and educational functions.

---

1) The Russell Report, op. cit. para. 284.

Approximately fifty people sought advice or support for specific projects. Requests ranged from assistance with forming a pipe band, finding premises for a junior gymnastics club to the provision of facilities for motorcycle scrambling. Small groups of people made suggestions for courses in subjects like local history, citizens' rights and hairdressing. There has been subsequent and persistent pressure on the project from individuals who were initially contacted in Breakthrough week. Another result was the stimulation of interest among people with skills to offer. Many of these have now been "matched" with appropriate community groups.

VIII. INFORMAL DISCUSSION GROUPS

The third strand in Breakthrough sought to test the idea that a programme which had only the most tenuous pre-determined curriculum could yet develop into classes which were both intellectually demanding and socially satisfying for the participants.

Two day-time discussion groups were advertised as "A chance to talk" and "Ways of living". The target group was housewives with small children and a crèche was to be provided for each group. (There was no adult education provision with an associated crèche on the estate despite the absence of any day nurseries or nursery schools.)

Middle-class housewives are a well known growth industry in adult education,(1) but there has been little attempt to work out new approaches for working class areas. Such women tend to receive less initial education than men and fewer opportunities for education and training through their work. Moreover, the geographic and social isolation arising from being tied to the home by lack of transport and the need to care for young children compounds their disadvantage. The situation is further exacerbated on Leigh Park by a number of other local factors, namely: the lack of nursery places; poor public transport facilities; a naval tradition of absent husbands; the high proportion of single-parent families on the estate; the incidence of "twilight" shift work (17.00 hours - 20.00 hours) for women in local industry; and the fact that more than half the households on the estate have no access to a car.

---

1) The growth of classes of this kind is firmly related to self-development, including the desire to make a contribution as professionals (often in social work) once children are old enough to allow of this.

Two groups with 14 students in each are now firmly established and are tutored by full-time extra-mural tutors with previous experience of this kind of work. Although the groups were recruited in an unorthodox way and have avoided the formalities of registration and pre-determined syllabuses, they have settled down to a pattern which is still recognisably a class in that is is systematically extending the knowledge and understanding of the students.

Teaching methods show some similarity to those suggested by the Humanities Curriculum Project for schools.(1) Content is determined by the students themselves, while the tutor is responsible for maintaining the quality of learning and sustaining the group in its own self-discovery and the examination of ideas. Intellectually demanding work arises from the tutor's understanding of procedures rather than a pre-determined syllabus of content. It is too early for any systematic evaluation to have been carried out, but it is certain that teaching demands carefully trained skills which are not common at present. One of the project's major tasks will be to look at how such skills can best be transmitted to others.

IX. THE "WISH-IN"

The final strand of Breakthrough was designed to encourage the articulation of a wide range of community wants and hopes for the future. To sophisticated outsiders the distribution of a questionnaire to be placed in a "wishing-well" may have seemed naive, but it attracted much attention. Everyone had three wishes (see Appendix) and a wishing well (build by local school children) served as a post box for completed forms and as a good conversation opener for busy shoppers, many of whom are not usually interested in education. Approximately 600 people completed wish-in forms. Suggestions were made about entertainment, sport, shopping, education, transport, housing and social facilities in the area. This was followed up by a lively public meeting held in the local community centre and attended by over 100 people to discuss suggestions made during the wish-in, and possible future action. The role of the project team at this meeting was to provide a forum in which local people could express their views in the presence of local councillors and representatives of various local agencies.

---

1) See The Humanities Project: An Introduction, 1970, and Paul Fordham, "The Humanities Project in an Adult Class" in Studies in Adult Education, 1974.

This, on its own, was an important, even exciting educational experience. It was, moreover, much more than an opportunity to complain and speakers very quickly adopted a constructive approach. As a result, a number of action groups to look for ways of improving transport, shopping and recreational facilities in the area were set up, as also was a group to study the possibilities of producing a community paper.

The New Communities Project has provided each action group with a consultant to help them decide on aims and procedures. Again, it is too early to predict how these groups will develop. But they have already given opportunities to individuals who have not previously played a leadership role in the community, and especially not in the areas with which they are now concerned.

X. SOME TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS

It will be evident from what has been said so far that the project has already started to activate far more than could be thoroughly followed through by two research fellows on their own - certainly in the next two years. To help resolve some of the inevitable tension this creates between the "action" and "research' aspects of their role, it is important that the project should now be seen even more clearly not as the deliverer of a service but as helping in the process of what Freire calls "conscientisation". We have to help people to an awareness of themselves as individuals, of the social, economic and political forces which shape their lives and of the challenges these present both individually and collectively. And this can only be done if both local people and the existing providers are all motivated to help in the identification of needs and the development of programmes to meet them.

As was noted earlier, we are conscious that "needs" are not externally observable entities, but have to be created through a dialogue between those who express their wants and those who provide the service. And we are conscious, too, that working on the boundaries of education and social work, we have to involve far more agencies than a narrower definition of adult education would imply. The non-participators are not primarily interested in departmental boundaries or academic definitions of what is "education". But the people of Leigh Park have already shown a capacity to respond to opportunities for learning, especially those which seem useful and are made more accessible than is normally the case. If "lifelong learning" is to begin to have meaning in places like Leigh Park, then the existing providers have themselves to come to a clearer understanding of what is required. In particular, the old non-vocational/vocational division has to disappear, administrative structures have to be re-examined and the whole question of accessibility looked at anew.

The early low profile strategy enabled the project to work closely with the local community, while the various aspects of "Breakthrough" have begun to bring professional judgment to bear on the identification of needs and the stimulation and co-ordination of appropriate responses. Analysing and recording the process by which this intervention is carried through will be an important part of the research side of our work. But we are not spectators only. Although we are not the deliverers of a service we have an obligation to Leigh Park to see that an improved service is delivered. Only then will other overspill estates be able to learn from our work.

APPENDIX

WISH-IN

Make your wishes and drop them in the WISHING WELL

MY THREE WISHES FOR MAKING LEIGH PARK
A BETTER PLACE TO LIVE IN ARE

(1) ______________________________

(2) ______________________________

(3) ______________________________

There is no need to give your name but the information will be useful as we intend to follow up your suggestions and would like to let you know of any results.

NAME ______________________________

ADDRESS ______________________________

OVER 21 UNDER 21

OECD SALES AGENTS
DÉPOSITAIRES DES PUBLICATIONS DE L'OCDE

ARGENTINA – ARGENTINE
Carlos Hirsch S.R.L., Florida 165, 4° Piso (Galería Guemes)
1333 BUENOS-AIRES, Tel. 33-1787-2391 Y 30-7122

AUSTRALIA – AUSTRALIE
Australia & New Zealand Book Company Pty Ltd.,
23 Cross Street, (P.O.B. 459)
BROOKVALE NSW 2100 Tel. 938-2244

AUSTRIA – AUTRICHE
Gerold and Co., Graben 31, WIEN 1. Tel. 52.22.35

BELGIUM – BELGIQUE
LCLS
44 rue Otlet, B1070 BRUXELLES. Tel. 02-521 28 13

BRAZIL – BRÉSIL
Mestre Jou S.A., Rua Guaipá 518,
Caixa Postal 24090, 05089 SAO PAULO 10. Tel. 261-1920
Rua Senador Dantas 19 s/205-6, RIO DE JANEIRO GB.
Tel. 232-07. 32

CANADA
Renouf Publishing Company Limited,
2182 St. Catherine Street West,
MONTREAL, Quebec H3H 1M7 Tel. (514) 937-3519

DENMARK – DANEMARK
Munksgaards Boghandel,
Nørregade 6, 1165 KØBENHAVN K. Tel. (01) 12 85 70

FINLAND – FINLANDE
Akateeminen Kirjakauppa
Keskuskatu 1, 00100 HELSINKI 10. Tel. 625.901

FRANCE
Bureau des Publications de l'OCDE,
2 rue André-Pascal, 75775 PARIS CEDEX 16. Tel. (1) 524.81.67
Principal correspondant :
13602 AIX-EN-PROVENCE : Librairie de l'Université.
Tel. 26.18.08

GERMANY – ALLEMAGNE
Alexander Horn,
D - 6200 WIESBADEN, Spiegelgasse 9
Tel. (6121) 37-42-12

GREECE – GRÈCE
Librairie Kauffmann, 28 rue du Stade,
ATHÈNES 132. Tel. 322.21.60

HONG-KONG
Government Information Services,
Sales and Publications Office, Beaconsfield House, 1st floor,
Queen's Road, Central. Tel. 5-233191

ICELAND – ISLANDE
Snaebjörn Jónsson and Co., h.f.,
Hafnarstraeti 4 and 9, P.O.B. 1131, REYKJAVIK.
Tel. 13133/14281/11936

INDIA – INDE
Oxford Book and Stationery Co.:
NEW DELHI, Scindia House. Tel. 45896
CALCUTTA, 17 Park Street. Tel. 240832

ITALY – ITALIE
Libreria Commissionaria Sansoni:
Via Lamarmora 45, 50121 FIRENZE. Tel. 579751
Via Bartolini 29, 20155 MILANO. Tel. 365083
Sub-depositari:
Editrice e Libreria Herder,
Piazza Montecitorio 120, 00 186 ROMA. Tel. 674628
Libreria Hoepli, Via Hoepli 5, 20121 MILANO. Tel. 865446
Libreria Lattes, Via Garibaldi 3, 10122 TORINO. Tel. 519274
La diffusione delle edizioni OCSE è inoltre assicurata dalle migliori librerie nelle città più importanti.

JAPAN – JAPON
OECD Publications and Information Center
Akasaka Park Building, 2-3-4 Akasaka, Minato-ku,
TOKYO 107. Tel. 586-2016

KOREA – CORÉE
Pan Korea Book Corporation,
P.O.Box n° 101 Kwangwhamun, SÉOUL. Tel. 72-7369

LEBANON – LIBAN
Documenta Scientifica/Redico,
Edison Building, Bliss Street, P.O.Box 5641, BEIRUT.
Tel. 354429–344425

MALAYSIA – MALAISIE
University of Malaya Co-operative Bookshop Ltd.
P.O. Box 1127, Jalan Pantai Baru
Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. Tel. 51425, 54058, 54361

THE NETHERLANDS – PAYS-BAS
Staatsuitgeverij
Chr. Plantijnstraat
'S-GRAVENHAGE. Tel. 070-814511
Voor bestellingen: Tel. 070-624551

NEW ZEALAND – NOUVELLE-ZÉLANDE
The Publications Manager,
Government Printing Office,
WELLINGTON: Mulgrave Street (Private Bag),
World Trade Centre, Cubacade, Cuba Street,
Rutherford House, Lambton Quay, Tel. 737-320
AUCKLAND: Rutland Street (P.O.Box 5344), Tel. 32.919
CHRISTCHURCH: 130 Oxford Tce (Private Bag), Tel. 50.331
HAMILTON: Barton Street (P.O.Box 857), Tel. 80.103
DUNEDIN: T & G Building, Princes Street (P.O.Box 1104),
Tel. 78.294

NORWAY – NORVÈGE
J.G. Tanum A/S
P.O. Box 1177 Sentrum
Karl Johansgate 43
OSLO 1 Tel (02) 80 12 60

PAKISTAN
Mirza Book Agency, 65 Shahrah Quaid-E-Azam, LAHORE 3.
Tel. 66839

PORTUGAL
Livraria Portugal, Rua do Carmo 70-74,
1117 LISBOA CODEX.
Tel. 360582/3

SPAIN – ESPAGNE
Mundi-Prensa Libros, S.A.
Castelló 37, Apartado 1223, MADRID-1. Tel. 275.46.55
Libreria Bastinos, Pelayo, 52, BARCELONA 1. Tel. 222.06.00

SWEDEN – SUÈDE
AB CE Fritzes Kungl Hovbokhandel,
Box 16 356, S 103 27 STH, Regeringsgatan 12,
DS STOCKHOLM. Tel. 08/23 89 00

SWITZERLAND – SUISSE
Librairie Payot, 6 rue Grenus, 1211 GENÈVE 11. Tel. 022-31.89.50

TAIWAN – FORMOSE
National Book Company,
84-5 Sing Sung Rd., Sec. 3, TAIPEI 107. Tel. 321.0698

THAILAND – THAILANDE
Suksit Siam Co., Ltd.
1715 Rama IV Rd.
Samyan, Bangkok 5
Tel. 2511630

UNITED KINGDOM – ROYAUME-UNI
H.M. Stationery Office, P.O.B. 569,
LONDON SE1 9 NH. Tel. 01-928-6977, Ext. 410 or
49 High Holborn, LONDON WC1V 6 HB (personal callers)
Branches at: EDINBURGH, BIRMINGHAM, BRISTOL,
MANCHESTER, CARDIFF, BELFAST.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
OECD Publications and Information Center, Suite 1207,
1750 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006.
Tel. (202) 724 1857

VENEZUELA
Libreria del Este, Avda. F. Miranda 52, Edificio Galipan,
CARACAS 106. Tel. 32 23 01/33 26 04/33 24 73

YUGOSLAVIA – YOUGOSLAVIE
Jugoslovenska Knjiga, Terazije 27, P.O.B. 36, BEOGRAD.
Tel. 621-992

Les commandes provenant de pays où l'OCDE n'a pas encore désigné de dépositaire peuvent être adressées à :
OCDE, Bureau des Publications, 2 rue André-Pascal, 75775 PARIS CEDEX 16.
Orders and inquiries from countries where sales agents have not yet been appointed may be sent to:
OECD, Publications Office, 2 rue André-Pascal, 75775 PARIS CEDEX 16.

OECD PUBLICATIONS, 2 rue André-Pascal, 75775 PARIS CEDEX 16 - No. 41 097 1979
PRINTED IN FRANCE
(C– 01 79 07 1) ISBN 92-64-11984-1